

# Maclean's

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The Rules  
At The Office  
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Calvin Klein

EAU DE TOILETTE

## Maclean's

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## When the boss is a woman



**16** Gender politics is rewriting the rules of conduct in the national election campaign—and no one knows what the final terms will be. But the fact that two women are leading their parties into the fray—and that other women are wielding power around the world—is a reflection of what has already happened in the workplace, where more and more Canadians already answer to women bosses.



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## The Bloc on top

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# LETTERS

## Broken promises

I think that I am hearing an echo. In 1984, the Times won the election with a cry for "jobs, jobs, jobs." At the time, the Liberals had converted Canada into a serious debt of \$200 billion, largely in an effort to create jobs. By 1984, the unemployment rate stood at 11.4 per cent. The Mulroney Tories vowed that they would deal with the debt and create employment. The result nine years later is a national debt approaching \$500 billion and unemployment at 11.3 per cent. Now, the Liberals' Jean Chretien is promising to overpay us even *deeper* into debt in order to create "jobs, jobs, jobs" ("Why can't anyone do anything?" *Cover*, Sept. 20). One can only assume that if Chretien is elected, Canada will find itself in four years owing \$1 trillion in debt with even higher unemployment levels.

Paul J. Arnold,  
Victoria

Prime Minister Kim Campbell's statement that Canadian voters went out after the election to hear her solution to the elimination of the federal deficit in five years is astounding but not surprising. The subtextual points out that she apparently has no firm plan in place at all.

Nat Morrison,  
Melville Hat, Alta

As an unemployed Canadian, I would like to thank Kim Campbell for her refusal to commit her government to a job-creation program. She has said that such an initiative would merely be an attempt to buy my vote by spending my own money to create a job for me. The Tories refused to implement the unemployment policy that they truly have the interests of ordinary Canadians at heart.

Mark Marshall,  
Ferdus, Que.

## Intriguing idea

While I share Peter C. Newman's dismay at the prospects of the Blue Quebecois holding the balance of power ("The real peril of minority government," Sept. 20), he overlooks one intriguing possibility that exists only under a Conservative-Liberal coalition. The politicians of the centre may be forced to work together to avoid giving undue power to the extremes on all sides. Such a coalition could be very productive. The question is: would the PCs and Liberals be able to swallow their pride to even *consider* such a coalition?

Dick DeLoe,  
Yonkers, N.Y.



By G. H. Smith

## Shared pain

Tears streamed down my face as I felt the pain and fear that Caroline Case's family went through after her disappearance ("A sister's lacerant," *Cover*, Sept. 20), and I prayed that I never have to experience the horror. My life would be shattered if anything ever happened to my family. When these things do happen, I know that everyone does what they can and sometimes they are successful at catching the criminal. I totally agree with Gov's sister, Rosemary Martin, the death penalty should be brought back. It's not a violent person, but it's the least that these sick people deserve for their horrific crimes.

Sherry-Lane,  
Oren Sound, Ont.

Employment centre: 'jobs, job, jobs'

## 'Get real'

Do NDP Leader Audrey McLaughlin and Liberal Leader Jean Chretien drive to work in 30-year-old cars? What Canadian farmer or fisherman makes their livelihood with 30-year-old equipment? Why would a union spend hundreds of thousands of dollars each to train our brightest and best and then ask them to perform other dangerous tasks in 30-year-old equipment? Isn't a time we came to grips with the necessity of re-equipping our Armed Forces? That goes for helicopters as well ("Propeller tip-top," *Cover*, Sept. 20). It's time for Chretien to get real on this subject.

J. A. Ives,  
Timber Lake

## What a soldier feels

Read with interest the special report on the Sgt. 6 issue in Lenox Maclean's "Surgeon (May)." My husband has been stationed outside of Stoney since July—is one of his recent letters he presented an incident: "The hardest part of being here is that I don't feel that much is being done to help these people. It makes me feel sick that I can't help them. After I give candy to some kids one day, a woman came by with a little boy. I saw him looking at the others and then speak to his mother, and a look of anguish came over her face. If you could have seen how happy she was when I called her son over, I think you would understand why I do some of the things that I do."

AnnMarie Chacko,  
Dorchester, N.S.

Letters may be edited for space and clarity. Please specify address and daytime telephone. Write letters to the Editor, Starline magazine, 777 Hwy. 8, Toronto, Ont. M6H 1A7. Or by fax: (416) 223-0700.



Gene Kelly wore khaki

GAP  
KHAKI

**"Lexus has redefined the luxury car market."**

**Nicholas V. Scheele, Chairman, Jaguar Cars Limited**

*Automobile, September 1992*

**"No maker has climbed the luxury echelon so quickly."**

**Juergen Hubbert, Head of Passenger Car Division,  
Mercedes Benz AG**

*Automotive News, September 28, 1992*

**"I tried the 12 and 8 cylinder Mercedes, but quite frankly I thought the Lexus was a much more modern car. It handles better, it's quieter and, although it's smaller on the outside, it's the same size inside for passengers and luggage."**

**Sir David Brown, Honorary Life President,  
Aston Martin**

*Autocar & Motor, March 3, 1993*

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# OPENING NOTES



Obba Babba is a well-placed friend

## STANDOFF ON KANEHSATAKE

Of the 300 films shown at the recent Festival of Festivals in Toronto, only one drew such an enthusiastic standing ovation. It also won the festival's award for best Canadian feature film. And it has already run in its entirety on British television. That movie director Alan Obba Babba Stanfield is still fighting to get the CBC to air his eye-opening documentary films, *Kanehsatake: 270 Years of Resistance*. A volume of the National Film Board, Obba Babba Stanfield's *Kanehsatake* film behind the scenes side of the barricade during the 1990 armed standoff near Oka, Que., in which Mohawk warriors faced off against the army and the Quebec police for nearly three months. The CBC said the NFB to show the two-hour film to about 60 stations, so that it can run in a two-hour time slot with commercials. But Colin Neale, *Kanehsatake's* executive producer refused. "We were not prepared to cut it down to someone else's specifications," he says. Neale adds that former Cbc Journal Host Mark Sturgis, now a charge of documentaries, "wasn't impressed with the film." Sturgis told Mohawks that his only concern was its length. Obba Babba Stanfield, meanwhile, has a well-placed friend who is working about the film—Cbc chairman Thomas Watson. During the festival Watson hosted a party at her house at his house. "Alan is an absolutely sure," says Watson, "and she's a pretty reliable person." But as Obba Babba Stanfield, he adds, he is not allowed to consider in programming decisions. "We got to be very careful not to say anything." The standoff continues.

They are not taking any chances. On Oct. 1, Allen to Premier Ralph Klein. Conservatives and media sent \$52 million in radio to female and social services programs—which translates into an average 5.5 percent reduction in support payments to welfare recipients. The government is clearly expecting an easy lookback, as shown by an information package and an affidavit from staff Kerepko.

The following tips may be used in telephone OK back-to-back messages:

- Keep your voice calm and reassuring.

You may gain control if you speak a little more slowly and clearly than the other person. As well as helping you to remain calm, slower and quieter conversation on your part may induce



WORD FOR WORD

## Safety in a time of cutbacks

understanding and respect. WE ARE ALL RESPONSIBLE FOR EACH OTHER'S SAFETY."

among them, high-powered French businessman Paul Montheil, president of the national railway, and Banque nationale de Paris CEO René Thémis—were on the line. Chief Georges Heiser, leader for General's gold-medal Calgary Olympic team, spent a week living in a 1,000 ft. of residence, team salaries and accommodations, among other delights. The total cost, \$600,000 (financial officials said that 10 per cent of the cost was paid for by such corporate sponsors as Interairline Inc., Air Canada and Borealis, who described Borealis's first official public reception as an opportunity to develop trade. As the saying goes, you have to spend money to make money.

## CAMPY SCRAPBOOK

Notes from Week 2 of the federal campaign

• **No Peter, No Point:** During the English-language TV debates on Oct. 4, Alan Mulcairn will act as host, with a panel from each network giving the candidates. News anchor Peter Mansbridge will sit for Global and CTV will send a political correspondent.

• **Leader faces:** The CBC has chosen three political commentators (Joe Scholten) to be the first to interview Mulcairn. Peter Mansbridge and Pamela Waller?

• **Inhabited Tories:** The Conservatives have admitted all campaign workers to "inhabit" their phones—in other words, they'll be on the air. Call the Tories on Oct. 4, David will be in the Tories did everything in their power to help

candidate Nancy Jackson. She lost, but the Tories learned a lesson.

• **Home industry:** A new product has hit the shelves in Vancouver: Tories No More, a spray which, the label claims, is "ideal to 'be your best' before a speech." It promises to "relax, relax, relax," and delivers two million psi employed. It is the brain child of Matt Macdonald—who is unemployed.

• **Referendum the moment:** The Quebecers' Leader Lucien Bouchard, of all people, wanted Queen Elizabeth II heard his speech to the Quebec and Canadian clubs in Toronto. Meanwhile, definitely Anglo-Protestant Manoir, campaigning in south-east Ontario, was less interested in support of the monarchy. Asked whether he would swear allegiance to the Queen if elected, the Reform leader replied: "Yes, and I have proposed an amendment to the oath of the both the House of Commons that they ought to swear allegiance to the people who elect them, and the Queen, at that order."

Jackman photo near

But the current call. We have proposed an amendment to the oath of the both the House of Commons that they ought to swear allegiance to the people who elect them, and the Queen, at that order."

## PASSAGES

**FREED:** After seven years as an inmate, prison, John Demopoulis, 75, who returned to the United States in July, the Supreme Court of Iowa overturned his 1986 conviction for being from the Toronto, the infamous prison guard at the New York City death camp in Poland. But the court also cited evidence that the retired Ohio auto worker had been present at a 1986 concentration camp. The finding led to demands that he be tried for alleged crimes at those other camps, but the Israeli government argued successfully that such 50-year-old crimes would now be difficult to prove.

**DROPPED:** A police investigation into allegations that Woody Allen, 54, sexually molested his eight-year-old daughter, Dylan, by Connecticut authorities, who found "probable cause," but decided not to prosecute to spare Allen the stress of a trial. The more damage is caused by a court order than by a finding of guilt.

**SENTENCED:** To 15 years in prison, Leonidas Marcos, 64, after a three-day Philippine court convicted her in the first of a series of 90 corruption charges stemming from his 1982-83 term. He served almost nine years in his husband, Ferdinand Marcos, before the couple's 39-year rule ended in 1986.

**APPOINTED:** President of the University of Western Ontario, Paul Demopoulis, 65, best known as a student activist on Jan. 30, 1968, after the University of Alberta decided not to renew his current contract.

**HONORED:** Writer Solomon Rushkin, 45, by a panel of literary judges, for the best novel written by winners of England's prestigious Booker Prize. Rushkin, 45, who was born in London, was nominated for this year's Booker, to be awarded on Oct. 26. Rushkin is nominated for the biographical novel *The Show Down* and *Ignorance* for *Star Travel*, about a man whose mother dies of Alzheimer's disease.

**HAIRED:** Canadian Olympic sprinter Silken Laumann, 38, and John Wallace, 36, in a victory on Sept. 24. Laumann became a Victoria leg injury to win a bronze medal at the 1992 Barcelona Games, while Wallace was part of the men's eight crew that struck gold.

## Embassy à la carte

It was only a block party, but what a block. Avenue Milefest is home to many of the city's most famous, including, among others, the Canadian Embassy. And on Sept. 10, when the dancers of Avenue Milefest crowded off the street to celebrate the fall wine harvest, Ambassador Ronald Bouchard welcomed out. While the residents flocked out the time-honored Champagne and smoked salmon, the Canadians offered their 1,200 visitors

## In search of a silver lining

In June, Laura Babbitt cut off her husband's access while he slept and then fled their Marquette, Wis., apartment—reportedly in a car. Found lying on a field hours later, the penis was reportedly mutilated at a local hospital by Dr. James Scher. Now Michael Walker, executive director of the ruling Prince Institute in Vancouver, has turned John Babbitt's actual to a gold medal. In "Lies from the medical press," he says, "as in the case of the late Prince of Wales, Walker argues that the fact Babbitt received treatment without medical insurance is evidence that the U.S. health care system is not as evil as Canadians often make it out to be. According to 'the Canadian mythology,' he says, 'the first thing the hospital would have done was to 'Where you could die' or 'Where you could be in the emergency room.' In fact, the only thing they did was, 'Where you could die.' Thank goodness for small miracles."



Sebbitt picture

## BEST-SELLERS

### FICTION

1. *The Golden Girls*, Margaret Stewart
2. *The Golden Girls*, Margaret Stewart
3. *The Bridges of Madison County*, Robert Waller
4. *It's a Wonderful Life*, Frank Capra
5. *London, New York*
6. *Without Remorse*, Tom Clancy
7. *Like Water for Chocolate*, Laura Esquivel
8. *Griffith & Sullivan*, Nick Carraway
9. *Robert Lewis*, William Faulkner
10. *Secret Service*, John DeLoach

11. *London, New York*  
Compiled by Brian Beller

### NONFICTION

1. *Prescriptions*, David McGowan
2. *Agony: Body, Mind, Spirit*, Joseph Conrad
3. *Prescriptions*, David McGowan
4. *Agony: Body, Mind, Spirit*, Joseph Conrad
5. *Black Holes and Other Mysteries*, Stephen Hawking
6. *Women Who Run with the Wolves*, Clarissa Pinkola Estés
7. *Secret Service*, John DeLoach
8. *Agony: Body, Mind, Spirit*, Joseph Conrad
9. *The Great Awakening*, John DeLoach
10. *The Glimmer Girl*, Anthony Quinn

## POP MOVIES

Top movies in Canada, ranked according to box-office receipts during the seven days that ended on Sept. 20. (On brackets, number of screens/weeks showing.)

1. *Striking Distance* (G) 1,300,100
2. *The Popeye* (PG) 1,200,100
3. *The Firm* (G) 1,100,100
4. *Undercover Blue* (G) 1,000,100
5. *Alone in the Desert* (G) 900,100



6. *The Paul McCarty* (G) 800,100
7. *The Man Without a Face* (G) 700,100
8. *The Age of Innocence* (R) 600,100
9. *Alone in the Desert* (G) 500,100
10. *The Firm* (G) 400,100

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## Overreacting to random killings

BY FRED BRUNING

Foreign visitors can be perplexed for thinking otherwise, but Miami is one of the great U.S. cities—a thriving, high-energy, cosmopolitan capital of a town where special life services deep into the night and where the egalitarian principles that made America famous are on par with real progress display. In the national events of the place there are aspects of mystery and promise and excitement. Also, there are aspects of chaos and danger. As noted this in America.

By now, word has been sent forth by travel agencies around the world. Considering a trip to Miami? Be careful! Be very careful. Five times more last summer, tourists from abroad have been killed in or around the city and four other foreign guests were slain elsewhere in Florida. Twice in the last six months, German tourists were shot to death after leaving the Miami airport. Most recently, a British fellow was slayed at a rest stop near Tallahassee. His traveling companion, also from overseas, was wounded but survived the attack. In her brother's attempt to sustain help, the woman told an emergency operator "He's dying, he's really dying."

The victim's ruthlessly planned and sense of assassin's only added to the horror of the event. Yet her friend was actually going to die there at the roadside in Florida, he was going to be far away from home and far reasons that no one ever would be able to satisfactorily explain. How amazing and how sad Florida state officials promptly condemned the shooting and expressed dismay that the Semtex. State again was cast in shadow. They promised better security in public places and quickly canceled a worldwide tourism campaign with the theme "See Florida. Many Faces."

For now at least, it can be assumed that Florida shows only one face to potential tourists—the terrifying profile of an assassin.

Fred Bruning was in Miami with Newsday in New York.

*More than 40 million people toured Florida last year and only one-tenth of one per cent were victimized by crime*

preparing to shoot the visitor dead. State Commerce Secretary Greg Farmer observed "To be running ads saying, 'Death thing is wonderful, come on down' only multiplies the problem and is counterproductive." Already, Farmer said, the state could lose billions of tourist bucks. Better slapstick these slick, sad-and-sour promotions so as not to offend the hearty tourists still planning to show up.

And yet one cannot help wonder when the statistics in Florida will be much different—when it will be possible to guarantee foreign visitors, or American travelers, safe passage? After the Tallahassee shooting, Gov. Lawton Chiles vowed "We are not going to tolerate these kinds of attacks," but so many of these critical questions are going to stay dead. And Americans from distant seas what? The Wall Street Journal describes as our "own criminal culture." The intricate forces of education at work have little connection to the crime world of state-house dinners and blue-ribbon commissions. Whether the governor tolerates, or whether he does not, trouble will continue until we make the trouble stop.

At this particular moment, the United States is on a violence jag. Guns are every-

where, thanks in large part to the influence of the National Rifle Association and to law weapons laws like those on the books in Florida. Drug abuse and trafficking assure a ghastly level of casual killing. A generation of neighborhood kids are ducking bullets from drive-by shootings and screaming to "just say no" in fashion comparable to anti-prohibition of juries. Housing and Urban Development Secretary Henry Cisneros launches a "Clockwork Orange" sort of security populated by contemptuous kids with barely a notion of what it means physically—or metaphorically—in this life. John, James, investment in the water city would offer hope to the homeless, says Cisneros, and help make America's streets safer, and its highway rest stops, too. Anybody listening?

Suspicion has a hammerlock on the American cathartic. Pure violence in a growth industry itself at the point. Such is consumer interest in an electronic arcade game called Merial Shooter that in New York City manufacturers had to establish a national reservations system upon receiving a home video version. Why so popular? Kids dig the realistic Konrad graphics—reminiscent of their adventures on video games—out bursts, snapping off heads, liquid cool still dangling, a nice touch), or living enemies by means of electronic. Just a little diversion for a busy afternoon.

Who pays most dearly for our excesses? We do. Every last life of a tourist a tourist, but can we get a grip on reality, please? More than 40 million people toured Florida last year and only one-tenth of one per cent were victimized by crime. Intense media focus on the assault of foreigners obscures the danger of a white American, and in the process devalues their lives. We should concern the deaths of overseas travelers, to be sure, but what about the U.S. citizens whose sad stories do not appear as the front page? Florida's murder rate—10.9 per 100,000 population, according to 1990 FBI figures—mostly affects Floridians. State budget cuts in New York where the rate is 14.5, and Washington, which boasts a horrifying 77.8 murders per 100,000. While lamenting the horror victims of random violence, we also might need to regret to ourselves.

So what is the lesson? Should Americans know how to defend? Must we stand our own cities and the people within—just say, "the hell with it" and look the other way? Do we yank advertising and effectively tell every traveler to stay home if they value their lives? Or do we say, "Hold on, later, we're not running from this thing?" Do we apply politeness and politeness but recognize the bond between danger and dysfunction? Do we keep things in perspective and remind ourselves that, bad as things are, America is not yet an armed camp? Citizens are not exactly running wild in the streets nor are ordinary folks begging business to work. Often like Miami, New York City and Washington remain far more civilized than depicted. The same can be said for most Americans. Don't believe it? Pick that bag. Check us out.

Illustration by Michael



YOU'RE IN HIGH SCHOOL, IT'S LATE. YOU'RE NOT YOUR MOTHER DURING SCHOOL, IT'S PLAYING A FEW YEARS LATER YOU HEAR IT ON AN ELEPHANT AND DON'T WANT TO BE THERE. BUT YOU FEEL YOURSELF ASHAMED IT FOR ITS STABILITY. AND HERE OTHER THROUGH REPORT WEAK THAT WELL.

LONGER?

WHAT

LASTS

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TOSHIBA  
"POWER STATION" SERIES

BY BRUCE WALLACE

**O**n a drizzly morning before a day of door-knocking, Sheila Copps is talking about the way women are changing politics. The MP from Hamilton East and deputy leader of the Liberal Party of Canada argues that Kim Campbell has used her sex to distance herself from the deeply unpopular Brian Mulroney—but that old Tory policies are still Tory policies. "We need real economic change and she's made concrete changes," Copps says between sips of coffee. "That's her problem. She's done a patronage job on a party that needs open-heart surgery." Copps agrees and agrees: "The guys would never touch a line like that."

It's not long after a weekday morning in September and Kim Campbell is spinning discs at the studio of Toronto radio station CHL. The genre piece is called "Steep the Champs," the campy being traffic reporter Dorry Dabrows, whose sexual odyssey is sung to songs like after hearing just a snippet of music. He guesses both at the Prime Minister's selections—Bruce Channel's *My, Baby* and Frankie LYNN's *Wife On Parole Full On Love*—sings that Campbell likes to refer to as her "party music."

"Boy, you're good," Campbell gushes. Without missing a beat, she asks Dabrows if he is single. "Why? What do you have in mind?" Dabrows—who is—shouts back from the chopper. "I could get interested," the Prime Minister of Canada replies.

Men, like politics ever changed. No longer are the candidates a seemingly random parade of men in suits, avoiding such topics as their own lives and setting debates more or less. Now again will a politician be able to write a column in *Tary Daily* like Canto did in 1976, called *Gayness, Pleasure and Politics*. In the election, more women than ever are running for office, and two of the three major national parties have placed their faith in women to lead them to power. The new faces are changing the style, the issues and even the language of politics. The library is not so much about "women's" interests. It's about "achievements," about "doing politics a different way."

As the campaign unfolds, the rules of conduct are being rewritten, and no one knows what the final arena will be. Are women politicians the only

New faces  
are rewriting  
old rules,  
using their  
sex to political  
advantage—  
and bewildering  
some of their  
opponents



ones free to talk publicly about their sex lives? Could a male politician flirt with a female reporter? More substantively, can sex be as powerful in attacking the character of a female opponent as they could in dealing with a man? The shifting ground leaves some bewildered male politicians screaming and protesting. "No fair!"—yes when they thought they had a handle on the politically correct way to deal with female opponents. Jim Chelches (elected in Malvern) in July that he is still more comfortable opening doors for women than running against them. "I consider a woman different," the 59-year-old Liberal leader told staff correspondent L. Kaye Fisher. "You have to be a little more guarded—you can't be rough." Eric Gidycz-Lewis, leader of the Liberal Party, said that his own conclusion. He had held off attacking Campbell, Bruchard explained last August, because he didn't want people to think he was picking on her because of her sex.

Given Campbell's gender has become a pillar of the Tory campaign. Traditionally, the Tories have done better among men than among women—winning a gender gap of about five percentage points. But the Tories now say their internal polls suggest that Campbell will attract more votes from women than ever before. Her prospects appear particularly strong in certain demographic segments of the female population. Professional women—lawyers, doctors, engineers and others—may not be swayed by the sex of the leader, insists Ottawa lawyer Jennifer Lynch, president of the Tory women's federation. But she adds,

"Our polling shows that working women outside the home—the women who work in stores and offices—lack a firm self-identity. Everything is open to them." Liberal strategists privately agree that Campbell has neutralized the gender gap. They concede, however, that her sex may not be an equal number of votes from men who are uncomfortable voting for a woman leader. Not are women any more inclined than men to vote in a bloc. Some of Campbell's harshest critics are feminists and younger women who are feminists that she has so far failed to put women's issues, including child care, ahead of deficit-bashing. "It's disappointing that she isn't fighting for women's rights," says Isabelle Stel, a 22-year-old University of Ottawa law student. "It doesn't tell me she's a leader." At the opposite end of the spectrum, more women who combine more traditional family values are bothered by Campbell's two failed marriages. "There is repulsion against women among both genders, not just men," said one Liberal adviser who requested anonymity. "Some of the harshest things we

have said about Campbell in focus groups came from women who think she's too weak to lead the country, as hasn't got a husband. We hear that a lot in rural areas."

Even among Canadians who are not influenced by the leader's sex, the gender card offers Campbell little benefit. For one thing, her sex is a card and she has to play it as well as she can. Mulroney's female opponents, of course, noted that "She's whole package. She's a woman," says Copps. "Well, gender may be a part of who you are, but it's not all of who you are." Male politicians, however, confess they are perplexed about how to deal with a woman opponent. "We'll welcome to the real world," says Copps. "We'll always have one male politician out there, 'bros'—and most men will only talk about the subject on the condition of anonymity."

Even the different language used by women throws some male politicians off stride. When Campbell attacked Ontario Premier Bob Rae in August for saying "you're [Rae] about her," male Liberal strategists were puzzled by her choice of words. "Mean things" said one adviser. "Who talks like that? It's not part of the political vocabulary." It was left to a female Liberal adviser to explain. "She's playing to the constituency that says women are victims—it's meant to say—and it's quite calculated."

Publicly, the Liberal line is to say that Christian is untainted by the prospect of confronting two women during the televised leaders' debates, and plans to keep the discussion focused tightly on issues. But privately, they acknowledge that debating a woman is a problem for any man. "It really irritates that you can't," said one Christian adviser. "All the women see in a female, and they apply all the stereotypes—she's more honest, more trustworthy, she won't screw us around. So you can't attack her. And you can't launch a negative advertising campaign."

That view is not confined to the Liberals. While preparing for debates against Campbell, the Tories' leadership circle, Jim Chelches' team studied videotapes of the Liberal leadership race—in which Copps went up against Chelches and three other male candidates. "Our conclusion was that whenever a man is aggressive with a woman in a debate, the benefit of the doubt goes to the woman every time," said a senior member of the Chelches camp. "It is simply too easy to avoid personalizing."

That unwillingness to be seen as confrontational may take the leader out of next week's two leadership debates. In 1984 and 1988, John Turner and Jim



# PLAYING GENDER POLITICS

# 'I had a naïve view that the first wom leader would be the perfect mother'

as Mulroney generated memorable moments with hot, saucy exchanges in which each man questioned the other's integrity and patriotism—leaving the impression that both men would have pointed to each other's weaknesses in a back alley. "You can't find a woman that way—sneaking fingers, being snafu and dishing all over the other guy the way Mulroney and Turner did," says Nikki Bell, 50, a film designer, who defected from Liberal cabinet minister Judy LaMarsh in 1980 and 1984. "When you debate a woman, you can be firm and direct, but you must be polite."

Just as that lesson was drilled home to Chrétien during his leadership run, Chrétien apparently has embraced the kinder, gentler philosophy. "My job is to deliver, not

It is not an auspicious introduction to the arrival of Canada's first woman Prime Minister. Campbell, on hand to open the glowing march, still gets the first polite greeting at the afternoon as she walks through the crowd to the grandstand, but there are shoulters here. "She'll set the course of women back 25 years," Erna Whelan, a retired conservative official from Hamilton, Ont., tells a woman friend after they shake hands with Campbell. "I don't think she's ready for the job." Whelan explains later. "And if she fails, men might not be willing to vote for a woman again for a long time."

What little enthusiasm there is seems to be the number of introduc-

there is still a vigorous debate over whether women must emulate men's aggressive behavior if they are to be successful in politics.

The outcome of McLaughlin and Campbell offer characteristic results. "She attacks. I've had men hit me enough like a man," McLaughlin told Markham's recently. "I was a loner. That has been interpreted as a copier." With McLaughlin as leader, the New Democrats operated under the belief that the year-around mood offered a chance to make out a new approach. "In the past, women in politics have had to become surrogate men, politics had to be played the male way," Sandra Mitchell, McLaughlin's principal secretary, said last week. "That people are disillusioned with the old-line parties which provided a kind of backroom political

But many women lament that path. They argue that the need to show toughness has encouraged Campbell to put economic conservatism ahead of her feminist beliefs. "It's a better job for all of us who expected to see women's issues dealt with," says Toronto socialist Susan Swan, who still wrote a favorable profile of the Prime Minister for *Maclean's* magazine in August. "I had this naïve view that the first woman leader was going to be more relaxed and more caring, the history of the perfect mother, in the real world it doesn't play out like that."

The politics of gender are in transition. As long as double



**"You can't fight, fight, fight all the time without becoming less feminine. In politics, you have to."**

—Judy LaMarsh, federal Liberal cabinet minister, 1983-1986



**"Whether she does, women must do twice as well as any man to be thought of just half as good. . . . Finally, it's not difficult."**

—Charlotte Whitton, mayor of Ottawa, 1926-1935 and 1937-1938



**"My views may be heretical, but I believe that the single biggest factor holding women back is fear of failure."**

—Loraine L. Smith, Cope



**"Tell me, Madame Minister, how was it that a woman was able to keep a secret like that for three months?"**

—A male interviewer, after then-Deputy Prime Minister Jean Chrétien told to resign the 1980 episode from sex of his American



**"She would throw little temper fits, she would be assertive and outspoken. Of course, men find that slightly uncomfortable."**

—Bill The Hon. Margaret Thatcher's former public relations adviser on how Thatcher used her femininity to get her own way



**"We tried to kick a little ass last night."**

—Reaganite Vice President George Bush, after meeting Canadian Prime Minister Jean Chrétien in 1984



**"When a woman enters the House of Commons, she enters what an alien world in an old-fashioned man's club."**

—Norm Lindsay, *Aurora*, May 1985



**"She is so sweet and I like her as much as I feel like sneezing her."**

—Congressman John LaFalce (D-N.Y.) on Hillary Rodham Clinton's participation in earth quake

demolish." Chrétien has told his aides women privately. But the new era of public political debates has not dented yet. Those restrictions do not apply to Campbell or McLaughlin, and both have showed that, when needed, they can leave "the new way of doing politics" in the studio door.

It looks more like a conversation of equals than a gathering of formers, and there may not be a larger crowd for a politician anywhere. Several thousand outsiders have snaked to a parkside site city on Toronto's Golden Square, Ontario, for the opening of the annual International Flower Market. And by mid-afternoon, the crowds are pouring around the grandstand to watch the opening parade.

Nothing No cheers no women, no reaction of any kind to the faces or the couple of local, provincial and federal politicians who pass by in vintage cars or on falcon wheels. There isn't even polite applause for the elementary school band that passes the grandstand briefly playing *Old MacDonald*. The first significant crowd reaction is a mixture of laughter and groans to the middle-aged, male master of ceremonies who lets with the teenage girls who have come from across the province to represent their regions in a Queen of the Flower contest. "I'll meet you girls after the parade," he says. "For some lunch . . . or whatever."

They speculate seriously about the arrival of Canada's first woman Prime Minister. Campbell, on hand to open the glowing march, still gets the first polite greeting at the afternoon as she walks through the crowd to the grandstand, but there are shoulters here. "She'll set the course of women back 25 years," Erna Whelan, a retired conservative official from Hamilton, Ont., tells a woman friend after they shake hands with Campbell. "I don't think she's ready for the job." Whelan explains later. "And if she fails, men might not be willing to vote for a woman again for a long time."

The Mulroney away, across rolling fields to neighboring Gray County, in the late town of Newstead and the ridges, where James DeWolf was born in the 18th century's time, the political world was almost exclusively a men's club. The Chief Justice was given an occasion to visiting the now-famous platitudes that "if the women could dominate the future of the world there would be peace." Considering the women who have held power and waged wars since then—Golda Meir, Indira Gandhi, Margaret Thatcher—that notion now seems quaint. But

sport, and people, for the most part, do not perceive women to practice non-aggression or backroom politics."

With that philosophy in mind, the *NBC* broadcast a record 113 women candidates this fall—more than either the Tories (44) or the Liberals (84). But McLaughlin barely registers in opinion polls on leadership, and she grumbles over a party that is in danger of being crippled as a national political force. "This was supposed to be an activist, the first national party with a woman leader," said one anonymous New Democrat incumbent last week. "We were told by the women in the party that Audrey would attract votes from the 52 per cent of the population that share her gender. But Campbell projects more concern for women." "That," he added ironically, "was supposed to be our strength."

Campbell has, in fact, taken a more careful look. "The rip against women," said one Liberal party activist, "is that they are not prepared to be tough enough leaders or sound on economic issues. Campbell has done remarkably well at overcoming those stereotypes." To Cope, who loved her reputation as the Thatcher willing to keep her own tables to pursue a political agenda, that suggestion signals that times have changed. "I was aggressive, and I got called a bitch," she says calmly.

standards exist, there will be politicians of both sexes. Every and sometimes enough to combat them for an edge on opponents. And the playing field still has two ways. "She, Campbell has the freedom to be confident and flexible that men don't enjoy," says Swan. "But she can do the same the freedom to pick up someone and sleep with him on bases. But, as there's freedom, so there's freedom without providing scorn and disapproval."

The reaction to Trudeau's dating habits might be somewhat different today. And many women expect that, over time, the public will also alter its opinion of female politicians. "We are two elections away from throwing the whole issue of gender aside for good," predicts Cope. "Once the number of women in politics approaches that of men, it stops being an issue. The fall of Jim Campbell, who adds in full partisan fight, 'will not be the fall of womanhood.' But the belief that she is the only woman in a new level of political behavior is a fallacy. For the moment, certainly, the inherent instability of politics—no matter which sex is playing it—still prevails."

With E. JUDY FULTON, MARY WOOD and CHRISTINA ROLANDE in Ottawa

# WHEN THE BOSS IS A WOMAN

BY MARY NEMETH

**W**hen Monique Fillescu applied for a job with the Quebec government in 1973, she was asked whether she would rather work for a man or a woman. "I immediately said a man," says Fillescu. "I thought a woman who had managed to become an administrator must have been a slave driver. I also felt that a man boss/woman-employee relationship was more natural." Fillescu got the job. She worked for government, and then the Quebec Civil Service Union in Quebec City, for 20 years, first as a secretary, later as a human resources technician. But along the way, she ended up working for men and women. "I was pleasantly surprised," says Fillescu, now 40. "Women bosses are much more sensitive with their employees; they're more sensitive to feelings and we talk about people issues."

The fact that two women are among the contenders for the nation's top political office is, in many ways, a reflection of the society that they both seek to govern. For over greater than half of Canadians, the boss already is a woman. That is changing, as the tide of conservatism flows the watersheds to the south, bringing the battle of the sexes into the boardroom—and forcing both sexes to rethink the rules of engagement. Of course, women still have far to go. They remain rare in the highest echelons of government; according to a recent survey by *The Financial Post Magazine*, only 37 per cent of the top executives at Canada's largest companies are women. But more and more women have become major leaders and corporate middle management, private owners and factory-floor supervisors. According to Statistics Canada, 30 per cent of all middle and upper executives were women in 1991, up from 25 per cent in 1981 and 16 per cent in 1971.

Women bosses still face resistance—both subtle and overt. More than two decades into the women's movement, there are still stereotypes, and negatively so: women—who don't like reporting to women bosses. Their growing presence has also provoked questions that, in the already charged arena of gender politics, some leaders say should never be asked: do men and women manage differently, and, if so, in that good thing?

Fillescu's boss, Danielle-Madeleine Gosselin, seems to think so, at least counts. At her first job as a secretary two decades ago, Gosselin and her co-workers sat facing their boss at two rows of desks that ran the



## Do women and men manage differently? If so, is that a good thing?

understanding." The idea was Gosselin's idea: across "the desks to Danielle there and I always looking for a consensus," says 60-year-old Jean Laporte. "People are happy because they have an input into decisions. On the other hand, consensus takes longer."

Obviously, not all male and female managers fit prescribed gender boxes. In fact, whether gender has any impact on management style has long been debated in scholarly and popular literature. In the late 1970s, the first books on the subject looked at how boys learn about business skills—competitiveness, how to take criticism, how to win—by playing such sports as football. Women, this argument goes, have to learn later in life to play the man's game. "The implicit assumption," says Lorraine Dyer, director of Queen's University's Centre for Research and Education on Women and Work, "was that women are deficient." In the 1980s, research shifted towards proving that men and women doing the same job are essentially the same

length of the room. "It was like grade school," recalls Gosselin. "No signal coffee break, he would reject the role of his desk with a pen. I would I would never think a position of authority like that." Now a 40-year-old mother of four, Gosselin was elected president of the 45-800-member Quebec Civil Service Union last May. "Relations with my employees are probably different than those of my male predecessor," she says. "I know what it's like to have to call and say you can't get the message so I won't be coming in. I have a more flexible style—not soft, just more understanding."

Now, gender difference is back to style. The latest theory, popularized in Sally Hedges's 1990 book, *The Female Advantage*, suggests that men are typically hierarchical, goal-oriented and interested in power for power's sake. Women, by contrast, manage collegially, break down hierarchies and share power. These feminine qualities, Hedges and others argue, are valuable tools for the people-friendly company of the 1990s.

Other scholars and some professional women, however, contend that the theory simply puts a positive spin on old, condescending stereotypes. "When I hear that women are more consensus, more caring, I wonder if their's what businesses really want today," says Marlene Sabes, the 58-year-old chairman of the Ottawa-based Export Development Corporation. "I don't think of the job of managers to be controllers, but to respect standards of their employees." Ada Sabes, "Women will be promoted because they have some of steel, not beads of gold."

Sabes's view that men and women of similar backgrounds, experience and aptitudes handle management in the same way, is echoed by business experts, especially those who have on conserved little gender discrimination. Marisa Alexander, the 28-year-old manager of a West Vancouver gas station, says that, growing up, "nobody told me I had to play with dolls and my brothers had to play with trucks." Her 10 male employees, she adds, "all have girlfriends who are in business or are going to school or have their own ideas"—helping to set a gender-free

**■** *Nowak (left): Ford (below): "It's like a roller coaster and a terror, you're going to be more worried about the guy with the big teeth. I think you have to assert yourself a little more, you have to prove yourself."*

tone in her workplace. "That's the greatest thing that's different from 20 years ago," she says.

A man called the Calgary Herald late one night in 1977 asking to speak to the person in charge.

"You are speaking to her," replied Catherine Ford. "No, I want to speak to the man in charge," the caller insisted. "There is no man in charge," the informed the caller. "I am in charge."

"Is he? I don't want to talk to some lady!"

That was in 1977, when the lady in question was night city editor. Now, as the assistant editor, Ford shares the second rung of the newspaper's 600-staff hierarchy. A colorful character who first gained notoriety with a 1978 column berated, "Hey Quebec, Go Back to Lenin," Ford is among those who agree that conservative management "fits in better with how women are socialized." But stereotyping has obviously gone too far in the past. "The idea that if a woman is strong and intelligent, she is less female, that's ludicrous," says Ford. "And it is plain lay thinking to argue that if a woman is outspoken, she must hate men."

Not all women, of course, are quite so blunt. Laura Stinson, 43, now an associate dean at the British Columbia Institute of Technology, used to work at a computer firm where the supervisor could not. She says that it often pays for a woman to act in a typically feminine fashion. "The most effective women in business speak deferentially to men," she says. "It's a woman's strategy to build up their ego. I worked with women who did that." She adds, "I didn't, probably to my detriment."

Even more caution, however, is the pressure on women to act masculine within a male culture. Lynne Sellnow, a senior consultant with Towers Perrin, a human resources consulting firm, advises against it. "Nobody's changed anything by just fitting in," she says. "We saw women dress in blue suits and ties and it didn't get them anywhere." But Sellnow cautions that being yourself "easier in some businesses than others. Any woman going into a highly traditional environment knows that there may be things you have to do to be accepted."

That was certainly the lesson for Neelene Nowak. Her father died of a heart attack on the first day of peach harvest in 1987, the next morning, she drove from her home in Toronto to take over her family's 160-acre tender-truck farm near St. Catharines. While she was out in the field that first day, one of the hands called her mother. "It was in a clearly way, he was trying to tell me, to see how far he could go," says Nowak, now 34. "I turned around and I could hear a bush in the field. I told him, 'You wouldn't have called my father twice, you'd want to call me sometime.' And if he did, she asked matter-of-factly, she would be the boss."

That incident was a dose of things to come. Depending on the season, anywhere from two to 60 farmhands, most of them men, work for Nowak. "They have tried to do things they would never have tried with my Dad," she says. "My father was a man man, he would have outstretched you just to look at him. It's like a roller coaster and a terror, you're going to be more worried about the guy with the big teeth." Because of that, Nowak says, "I think you have to assert yourself a little more, you have to prove yourself." But she says that it is tough on her personally. "It's not in my nature to be a total boss, but I sometimes



have to be," she says. "Lose your cool and use those bad words and then they know you mean business."

When women work far worse, a different dynamic is at work. Susan Mills, who works late at downtown Toronto, says that she has struck up friendships with some of her women bosses. She can talk about her personal life, she says, or explain that she is falling down because of a menstrual cramp. While women may feel more at ease with a woman boss, men often have to adjust. Jean Chastanet, an unemployed, 38-year-old marketing agent who lives near Quebec City, says that "there's a little more spice" in conversations between men. "I took me a couple of years before I felt comfortable enough to tell off-color jokes with a female boss," says Chastanet. "And even then there was a limit." Chastanet says that he did not mind. "I didn't feel that because I wasn't one of the girls, I was coming out," he says. "In fact, my relationship with my female boss was much more businesslike because there wasn't as much time spent looking around."

Some of the male-female differences come down to language, argues Barbara Antis, who runs a Toronto firm that holds gender workshops for businesses. Executives from the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce, including Steven Julius, a 45-year-old vice-president, attended a workshop last August helped organize earlier this year. There, Julius discussed the time the last two years during a meeting: "Men think that tears are a nuclear weapon in a conventional war," says Julius. "When a woman colleague cries it is very disturbing to them, they think it means she's unhappy, victimized. They look at crying as a weakness." The men failed to understand, says Antis, that what triggered a tear was not hurt but pain. "When we cry in that situation, it's because we have all that rage that has no appropriate vent but tears," she says. "Women cry, men vent by kicking or internalizing."

In an effort to bridge such differences, Julius and other executives have put on a series of theater productions for staff highlighting cross-gender miscommunication. Such programs help women employees, says the bank's executive vice president, Doreen Gill. "I don't think a lot of the

## 'Men think that tears are a nuclear weapon in a conventional war'



Greenleaf. "To signal coffee break, he would rap the side of his drink with a pencil if I said I would never abuse the position of authority like that."

problems are intentional," adds Gill. "Many men have certainly helped me along during my career. But some men just don't understand."

Deborah Sawyer, president and founder of a Toronto firm called Information Plans, says that even if men do understand, they sometimes react differently to the same situation, and to her collegial management style. "With the women I get reasonably good results," she says. "But with the men, at times, I've had problems so that they're going in a different direction." On one project, Sawyer says, she said a young male researcher, who was supposed to carry out corporate charters, that the best time to reach them was early in the morning. Well, he persisted in copying in after 9 a.m. "He would sit there at 10 in the morning when nobody was available, and he'd get very frustrated and the project would get pushed off schedule," Sawyer says. "One morning I asked how it was going. He put this look of defiance on his face and said 'Well, nobody's there. If this keeps up, I'll have to believe that you're right and I'll have to come in earlier.' He was trying to prove me wrong."

Sawyer says that her authority is sometimes undermined by perceptions about her gender. "It annoys them the whole social construct of entrenched roles for men and women," she says. "Men would tell you to do things, but perhaps you wouldn't take it as much notice as when a man told you to do things." Men also have a stronger urge to compete, she says. "Women aren't used to that competitiveness between ourselves so much, so when we feel it from a man we don't want to play that game."

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## FORCEFUL OR JUST PLAIN PUSHY

"Why can't a woman be more like a man?" asks a song from the musical *My Fair Lady*. But many female managers say that even when they behave like men, they are judged differently, and often more harshly. Office mythology includes variations of these so-called male and female characteristics:

### HE

A male manager is firm.  
He is good at details.  
He issues his orders.  
He is forceful.  
He is in a bad mood.  
He speaks his mind.  
He is honest.  
He is close-mouthed.  
He makes decisions quickly.  
He is a team player.  
He is a strategist.  
He is a taskmaster.

### SHE

A female manager is inflexible.  
She is picky.  
She is bitchy.  
She is pushy.  
She must be having her period.  
She is overbearing.  
She is emotional.  
She is sensitive.  
She is impulsive.  
She is indecisive.  
She is a manipulator.  
She is a hell hater.

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But women do compete, often with each other—a tawdry subject in some circles. “When the feminist movement calls on women to bond in sisterhood,” writes Laura Tracy in *The Secret Achievers: Six Competition Among Women*, “talking about women and competition feels like a general betrayal of all women.” They agree that women must overcome what they were taught in childhood: that competition is unfeminine, even asocial. That upbringing forces women to compete secretly, she says—and leads to cliques of betrayal, catfights and duplicity.

One former manager in Ottawa, who wished to remain anonymous, told *Maclean's* about a female subordinate whom she trusted and whose promotion she championed. “But she became jealous quickly,” the woman says. “After she got a letter of reprimand, she went off my job.” While the manager was off her nerves from a car accident, the subordinate took over her work. “When I returned after a few weeks, I found all my personal belongings stolen or smashed,” she says. “I started being harassed with phone calls my car was damaged. I started to complain to my boss, which made it seem like I was the one who was jealous.” Eventually, she manager lost her job.

Clearly, such extreme cases are rare. But there is no denying that realities may develop among women, just as they do among men. “Some female bosses compete with you if their own security is threatened,” says Miller. The Toronto bartender is one of her first women bosses, she says, her old work staff members often come to her with their jealous complaints, rather than to her woman boss. “It was because I was more approachable, they felt more comfortable with me,” Miller says. But her boss was not pleased. “She said that I filled her with stuff, that I was using my looks,” says Miller. “And she was always critical, telling me to put my hair up or saying my makeup was too extreme.”

Some researchers argue that some corporate environments, not upbringing, shape destructive competition among women. “I don’t buy the severe socialization perspective, that because women haven’t been playing team sports they have learned to be nasty, jealous, backstabbing,” says Robin Ely, an associate professor at Harvard University’s John F. Kennedy School of Government in Cambridge, Mass. In a survey of 140 women in law firms, Ely found that junior women in male-dominated firms were much more likely to say that women partners “eat their men” and less likely to say they are “helpful to women” than junior women in more integrated firms. If there are only one or two senior women in a firm, Ely speculates, they may face impossible pressures to be role models to a wide variety of junior women.

For women bosses, the great expectations of some female employees is one more challenge. Marilyn Miller, a Toronto-based resources consultant, says that junior women associate a female boss will promote them more quickly than a man would. But, Miller claims, they also expect women bosses to be more selfless. “I have had female subordinates ask me, ‘Why can’t you do your own stuff?’ Or, ‘Why can’t you do

your own thing?’” says Miller. “They would never say that to a man.”

On the other hand, two decades ago they would rarely have had a woman boss in the first place. Nina Caldwell, a 49-year-old management consultant from Brampton, Ont., points out that her daughter was born 24 years ago just as Ontario was passing legislation to end corporate trust advertising exclusively male or female jobs. “In the last one to say our problems are over,” says Caldwell, who studies gender issues. “But I’m optimistic. I’m looking forward to a day—before I die—when we recognize that there are many management styles and we won’t use the terms masculine or feminine. Well, she passes, maybe not before she dies. Perhaps in her daughter’s lifetime.”

**WIN: BRENDA DALGLISH** SPANISH DOYLE DRESSAGE and GIANE SANDY on Toronto; **JON MORSE** in Calgary; **JON DUMONT** in Halifax; **MARK CARDWELL** in Quebec City and **ADRIANO WOOD** in Vancouver

## ‘NO PLACE FOR A WOMAN’

There are few jobs more male than log-booming. Crews work on the water, one to a boat, pushing and sorting a floating mass of logs into rafts, lighting the currents for up to 10 hours at a time, in wicked cold or scorching heat. “The guys had it down that it was no place for a woman,” says Don Roberts, 41, who has worked as a boom man



The all-male crew thought that Sylvia Corning would never last in the male world of log-booming.

for 24 years. And so he and the rest of the all-male boom crew did not take Sylvia Corning seriously when she became the first female log supply supervisor at Crown Forest’s New Westmar, B.C., sorting grounds in 1993. The Fraser River crew guaranteed that the then-31-year-old Corning should be at home in the kitchen. The head boss was so hostile that she took a diversion and kept talking to the devil with her. “The crew didn’t believe a woman could do the job,” says Roberts. “Nobody thought she would last.”

Corning, an industrial engineer, says that

during her first three months the men refused to talk to her. Each day, she would assign the work to her silent, resentful crew. “I didn’t get any feedback—nothing,” recalls Corning. “There was no communication.” She had never done the job and did not know what it was, they were constantly laughing at her because she was giving them too little work, or angry

because she was giving too much. “Walking into a men’s world was intimidating,” says Corning. “But I wasn’t about to give up.” Corning’s strategy was straightforward: “I didn’t pretend I knew more than they did,” she says. “But they had to realize I wasn’t leaving and I could help them do their job better.” After three months, she adapted the sporadic work flow to eliminate the alternating periods of layoffs and overtime—a measure that improved productivity. “I published the figures and they were amazed they had increased so dramatically,” she says. At that point, the men started to offer their own ideas and she realized that she “had tamed the crew.”

As their supervisor Corning, who now teaches transportation logistics at a Vancouver community college, stayed for four years and eventually became manager of the log sorting operation. Now, says Roberts, “It would be a lot easier for a woman to be accepted on the boom.”

**SHARON DOYLE DRISCOLL**

# THE BLOC ON TOP AT THERAMPARTS

**LUCIEN BOUGHARD IS  
POISED TO MAKE A  
HISTORIC BREAKTHROUGH  
AT THE TORIES' EXPENSE**

**B**y 9 a.m., the brown, two-wheeled van had turned off Highway 66's notoriously high-speed Route 20 and was bumping along the more tranquil Route 48 toward Shreveport. Stowed in the back seat, his jacket off and his loosened, Deputy Prime Minister Jean Charest was watching his cellular telephone. Over the previous 14 hours Charest had delivered noncontroversial speeches in three Quebec City villages, given three interviews to journalists, shaken hands with all 30 members of a women's basketball team, and given a 10-minute speech to a group of students with about 500 university students and posed for photographs in settings as varied as a waterfront, an apple orchard and a barn occupied by not headstrong cows. He had called his wife and three children to say good night, and was now happily contemplating the latest pages of his own hours of sleep that lay ahead before he began campaigning in his home riding the next day at 10 a.m. in a small village, a modest town, a rural called one of his supporters for a brief stopover in the town of Shreveport, Louisiana. "Who's in there organizing?" he asked. "And are we ready? Because those guys are sleeping in light."

For Charest, the battle to retain the title he first won six years ago is likely to be intense and occasionally nasty. Already, the Bloc Québécois candidate, Guy Boudre, a longtime Charest opponent, has called him a "traitor" because of his federalist swing and—crowning one of the harshest insults in the soccer-jargon lexicon—accused his former ally of being "another Pierre Trudon." Despite the attention those comments generate, Boudre has little chance of defeating the popular incumbent, who, in the rest of the province, the separatist forces under the late Lester Laan's banner appear poised for a historic, but unlikely, triumph. In the 1995 election, the Bloc won more than half the province's 75 seats. That could drag either the Liberals or the Tories a majority government, and have the young elite at making a sovereignty pact, the third largest force in the House of Commons—and its potential kingmaker.

In the month before the election call, both the Tories and Liberals predicted that Bloc support would wither as soon as voters gave serious thought to the prospect of voting for a party that can never build power. But as the campaign approached,

the halfway point, the Bloc appears to be building its own. Private Conservative polling data obtained by Marleau's last week showed that the Bloc had the support of 35 per cent of eligible voters in the province, while the Tories had 38 per cent and the Liberals 19 per cent. Obviously for the Tories, the governing party was ahead in only three of the province's regions. Charneau's home base at the Eastern Townships, the northern region of Abitibi and the Hudson's community of Laval, just north of Montreal.

The state survey shows that the Tories support is strongest in Inneschome, rural areas, and weakest in areas where the population is either heavily agricultural or ethnic. Among urban, well-educated Inneschomes, the Blue holds an overwhelming lead. The Quebec City area, where the Tories took a 1990 election, is likely to be a disaster for the party, and one Tory organizer, this time, the Blue is likely to sweep the area. The Tories estimate that based on their polling results, the Blue would likely win about 27 seats, leaving the Tories with 23 and the Liberals with 15. If the Blue's support grows even slightly by 1995 to 25 at the expense of the Tories, the margin between the two could be much greater—allowing the Blue to capture as many as 30 seats.

Two more startling were the results of a poll published last weekend by the daily *Wolff* *Le Journal de Montréal*. It gave the Bloc the support of 43 per cent of Quebecers, with the Liberals having moved into second place with 28 per cent and the Tories at 23 per cent. Among the ridings expected to swing to the Bloc, Charbonneau on the North Shore of the St. Lawrence, former prime minister Brian Mulroney's seat, and the Quebec City riding of Laurier, where the incumbent is Finance Minister Gilles Lortie. In Charbonneau, Tories say Mulroney is expected to appear on behalf of the Tory candidate.

For outsiders—and for many Quebecers—the Bloc's increasing popularity is baffling. Although it is already certain that the provincial election expected next year will be fought on the issue of Quebec sovereignty, none of the major federal parties is spending much time on the issue. And Guyane Bouchard's image as a charismatic leader, his speeches are less witty and polemic than is reflected in the short, punchy clips used on television.

newscasts. Typically, Bouchard's tone is ironic, aggrieved and utterly predictable—assume this, reporters often count the number of times he speaks of Quebec's purported "translation" by Ottawa and English Canada. Most of his fellow New Canadians are little better even in their own regions. Mary, in fact, are legislative staff assistants on leave from the Parti Québécois.

On the five occasions when Bae represents voters than Rouchaud has attracted attention, the results have been disappointing. One exception is in Gilles Diercke, a former leader of the radical and highly respected hard-line sovereigntist. But after Diercke, the focus is on anti-immigration Christine Gagnon. The Bae electorate who do identify with Lusselle, was disappointed when she was not re-elected despite her vocal feminism with Lusselle and Liberal candidate Jean Pelletier took the seat. One writer in the Montreal daily *La Presse* described her as "spitting and flaming." Meanwhile, Rouchaud was forced to disassociate himself from rumors by Hedy Ayoub: MP Gilles Boivin, a former Bae and Liberal Senator. Pietro Rinaldi was a family friend of a Montreal gangster. Rouchaud's views have some merit, but is not related. Rinaldi has threatened to sue Rouchaud, who ignored.

Although Bocharov has described the issue of Quebec's sovereignty as the sole reason for his party's existence, he rarely articulates it on the campaign trail. Instead, he speaks most of his time criticizing federal government waste and promising to promote Quebec's interests within the House of Commons. Far too far, PQ leader Jacques Parizeau—who has thrown his party's considerable organizing skills behind the Bloc—has said that a vote for Bocharov's party should not be seen as a endorsement of sovereignty. The reason for that is clear: regional polls have demonstrated that more than a third of potential Bloc supporters do not consider Quebecers sovereignists.

Bouchard's appeal lies in his ability to tap into the widespread public distrust for traditional politics. A deeply passionate man, he quit the Conservatives in 1990 in protest over the Turner handling of the Meech Lake accord. His bristly and unhappy tirades with federalists and the Conservatives reflects the disenchantment felt by many Quebecers. As well, he says that he regards politics as

## Canada Notes

### A RAZOR-THEM MAJORITY

Manitoba Premier Gary Filmon's Conservative government lost all five by-elections it had called for Sept. 21, including the Winnipeg riding of Rossmore, which had been held by the Tories since 1988. The results left the Conservatives with a non-ent majority. They now hold 29 seats, compared with 34 for the New Democratic Party and seven for the Liberals.

Ronald Berger noted the

dominating Corp. is not obliged to include National party Leader Mel Bartig in nationally televised election leadership debates scheduled for Oct. 3 and Oct. 4. Biegener rejected the National party's argument that the CBC is a governmental body and had violated Bartig's constitutional rights by not allowing him to participate alongside the Conservative, Liberal, NDP, Reform party and Bloc Québécois leaders.

**'OUT OF CONTROL'**

News Scotia Premier John Savage described the province's finances as "out of control." Savage, whose Liberal party ended 15 years of Conservative rule in late May, told local business leaders that the province faces an unestimated \$475-million deficit from the last fiscal year, bringing its accumulated debt to more than \$8 billion. He warned that there would be some "pained medicine" in his government's first budget, scheduled to be tabled on Sept. 30.

### CURIOUS DISTINCTIONS

Canadians between 15 and 24 years of age have a rate of death by homicide second only to the United States among industrialized nations, according to a report issued by the United Nations Children's Fund. The report also noted that young Canadians are committing suicide at rates exceeded only by Australia and Norway.

THE RACE IS ON

The provincial Liberal party of Quebec will choose a successor to Premier Robert Bourassa at a leadership convention in Quebec City on the weekend of Jan. 28 to 30. Although no one has yet entered the race, Liberal backers of one likely candidate, Treasury Board president Donald Johnson, have already launched a "draft Johnson" movement aimed at showing that he enjoys wide support.

2

Boachard is aware themselves, reporters credit the name to speakers of Quebec's purported "Francophonie."

linguistic Quebec—one that he will abandon if and when Quebec becomes sovereign. Concedes a senior Tory strategist, "You listen to Lucien, and you know exactly what he stands for. He concerns with his audience, and that is not something you can say right now about a lot of other politicians. Proof of that popularity was evident last week in the remote Abitibi region. After word leaked out that Beaudry was planning to meet with two opponents, more than 100 people showed up to declare their support."

By contrast, Campbell's performance in the province has been disappointing. Although polls and her public appearances show that she is regarded with polite interest, Tory supporters concede that her limited knowledge of French and her perceived preoccupation with deflection have hurt her in these efforts. Senator Pierre Claude Nolin, the party's chief Quebec organizer, acknowledged in a radio interview last week that "Ms. Campbell has a lot of things not going over well."

The informal polls are also hampered by the fact that they have relatively low popular, high-profile francophones to make their case. The most notable exception is Charvat, who retained his reputation as the party's best known Quebecer during his run for the Tory leadership last spring. By the end of the campaign, he may have appeared with most of the party's Quebec candidates. But even his attacks on the Bloc are more muted than during the leadership race. Charvat's speeches praise Charvat's defense of the Tory record, attack the Liberals and emphasize the need to cut the deficit. Sovereignty and constitutional issues, he told *l'Abolition*, "are

not topics people want to talk about—even though they will be confronted soon with the future."

For now, Charvat emphasizes what he calls the two "most redemptive moments" in the Bloc's platform: Beaudry's assertion that



Charvat attacking the Bloc's incoherence

he wants to improve the federal system while at the same time planning to demolish it, and the Bloc's insistence that a sovereign Quebec would offer a job to every federal civil servant in the province despite Beaudry's attacks on federal government waste.

Charvat's deep sympathy for the

province—which stems largely from the belief that he helped to drive the North Shore constitutional revolt—in an obstacle for any Liberal candidate running in a riding with a heavy concentration of francophones. Even some Tories consider that the Liberals' record of past Quebec confidence—including such an unpopular former Quebec City mayor, Pelletier and another sector and current Marcel Masse—is as impressive as any from the Liberals' assembled roster. But that may not help them. Pelletier was fired in two pollbook polls after the Bloc's Gagnon and the Tories' Landry. And Charvat, who won his own Shingon area riding easily by successfully larger margins from 1982 until he resigned in 1986 faces a difficult challenge from the Bloc. He may see only if local voters become convinced that the Liberals are going to fight the next government, thereby forcing the riding towards federal assistance.

For all parties in Quebec, the key now is the leaders' debates, scheduled to take place on Oct. 5 and Oct. 5 in French and English respectively. Liberal strategists say that Charvat will stay away from direct attacks on Beaudry in the French language debate, while telling Quebecers that it is not in their best economic interest to vote for the Bloc. The Liberals know, however, that because of the deep animosity for Charvat among francophones, they stand little chance of winning votes from the Bloc. The Tories, meanwhile, face their own challenge: "The Liberal view at Quebec isn't big, but it is loud," says one Tory strategist. "So the only way to go up is to try to win votes back from the Bloc." With Charvat's 23 seats up for grabs, the Bloc's rise or fall will likely determine whether it is Campbell or Charvat who forms the next government.

ANTHONY WALTON SMITH is in Montreal with P. Kent Palmer in Ottawa

## Campbell's critical blunder

It was a blunder that will likely haunt Prime Minister Jean Campbell through and through the results of the Oct. 25 election campaign. On the outskirts of Montreal last week, the Prime Minister promised to "completely rethink" Canada's system of social security. She argued that she was too busy to examine the issue in depth now—and that the 4-day campaign "is not the time to get involved in very, very serious discussions." While her Conservative strategists smiled in dismay, her opponents pounced. An acerbic Liberal leader Jean Chrétien said that her attitude towards the issue was "almost contemptuous." New Democratic Party leader Audrey McLaughlin said that the program is very important to Canadians and they have a right to know (where she stands) during this campaign.

Campbell's extraordinary assertions may

ensure that the public will learn belatedly what the federal government has known for months: Ottawa needs the provinces' trust in Canada's social safety net to control their rapidly escalating debts. An internal review, which the Conservative government ordered last year in the effectiveness of social programs, concluded that unemployment insurance and welfare payments have lost their efficiency and dependency that is, those programs provide little incentive to return or to move in search of full-time work. More importantly, the review found the stark fact that Ottawa cannot afford its \$67.4-billion current level of benefits to individuals and to provinces—and that the provinces do not have the funds to pick up the shortfall.

For Campbell, the issue is a strategic nightmare. Although she later backtracked and promised to travel for government's

plans to modernize social programs this week, she will be hard-pressed to provide many details because welfare is a provincial responsibility. Ottawa cannot overhaul its massive support system for the unemployed and the unemployed without lengthy discussions with the provinces. As well, it could prove politically risky to take to well-organized interest groups such as old age pensioners—who are prime targets for proposed spending cuts—in the heat of an election campaign. To some observers, however, Campbell's Conservatives have only themselves to blame for the dilemma that they now face. As a former cabinet adviser to the federal cabinet told *Maclean's*, "The federal government has known that this moment was coming—and it deliberately said nothing because it was too expensive. So what happened? It comes us to this public approach at the moment that is worst for them." That is a lesson that all governments would do well to heed.

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# Manning's dilemma

Practising populism is harder than preaching it

The green-and-blue poster behind him read, "Let the People Speak," and that's exactly what Reform party leader Preston Manning did last week in Brampton, Ont., a hotbed community just west of Toronto. Looking out at a crowd of about 500 supporters, the former assistant consultant declared that the current federal election campaign is a "test of democracy."

Added Manning: "The question is, can grassroots people develop a political party with a platform? Can they actually change the system? As he does at nearly every campaign stop, Manning then threw the floor open to questions—a gesture designed to show that, unlike his rivals, the Reform leader is willing to let voters define the key issues. The tactic appears to be working: after an 18-min. rousing slide in popularity before the Sept. 8 election call, recent polls show that Reform is on the rebound. As Manning put it in Brampton: "We're moving in the right direction."

Despite that show of confidence, the Reform leader is finding that it is sometimes easier to preach grassroots politics than to practice it. For one thing, the Q&A-style question-and-answer sessions with his audience often force him to depart from his chosen themes. At every stop on his three-day tour into southern Ontario, Manning emphasized his party's plan to eliminate the \$20-billion federal deficit within three years. But many of the people who came to hear him speak had other things on their minds. In Brampton, for example, only one of almost 100 questions thrown at Manning dealt with the deficit. Audience members seemed far more concerned about what the Reform leader proposed to do about escalating rates of violent crime. The threat of Quebec separation and what one audience member described as "the sale of innocent children."

During the early stages of the campaign, Manning has earned credit for his forthright and detailed presentation of party policies. Still, his public status as the champion of grassroots transparency runs high for a small, but vocal group of dissident Ontario Reformers who complain that the party is hijacked in its handling

of internal dissent. Among them is Paul Orlowski, a 42-year-old horticulturist from Hanley, Ont., who joined Reform in 1990 and later worked as a party organizer and fundraiser. Orlowski was one of 13 Toronto-area Reform affiliates who, in June, 1992, complained to the party's Calgary-based executive council that it was moving too much control over the appointment of Ontario re-

solved. According to internal party documents obtained by Maclean's, Manning responded by dismissing Orlowski as a policy consultant to the national campaign. Orlowski then sent a memo to all members of the national election campaign organization asking them to sign a letter declaring their personal commitment to the party and agreeing to refrain from using internal differences in public.

For his part, Orlowski makes no apologies for the tough line taken on dissent. "The Ontario dissidents," he says, "represent a small group of 'negative and destructive' individuals who wanted to wrest control of the party into their own hands. I don't think it was a power struggle and they lost." As for the loyalty oath, Orlowski says it is no more than any other party or major organization



gional coordinators. Soon after, each of the Ontario affiliates received a stern letter from Cliff Fyfe, the party's chairman and chief executive officer. Those who continued to criticize Reform's head office, Fyfe warned, "will become marginalised within the party and the consequences involved will limit the leader's ability to hear them." Orlowski subsequently quit the party. "After putting my time, energy and money into what I thought was a grassroots party, I found that a real slap in the face," he says.

Manning and his advisers continue to keep a tight rein on dissent. In July, Thomas Langens, a University of Calgary political scientist and a former director of policy and communications for Reform, wrote to Manning objecting to the inclusion of Ontario Reformers Rick Anderson as senior campaign director. Rasmussen, who viewed Anderson as too much of an Ontario insider, told the leader that he would make his views known to the rank of

Manning confronts a questioner at a Reform rally. "Can grassroots people develop a political party with a platform?"

members, rather than from a core group of executives. The rank-and-file, however, is more than pleased that dissent. University of Calgary political scientist Roger Gibbins, who has studied Reform closely since its 1987 formation, says the party is almost centrally controlled. He notes that some of the dissidents correctly point to a "fundamental tension between the principles of the party and the way that it operates." But Gibbins is quick to add that, for the number of loose cannons attracted to a populist party, Reform may have this choice. "I'd still argue that without Manning's ability to shape the party," Gibbins says, "they wouldn't have had the success they have had." For a party, in a sense, in electoral backsliding, that may be all that matters.

DURAN BURGESS is a reporter



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Volunteers: I like the excitement, the deadlines and seeing the results.

## A passion for politics

Volunteers are the lifeblood of the campaign

In the second election report from the southwestern Okanagan community of St. Thomas, B.C., voters (1993) would agree with most of the local residents who have decided to get involved in the campaign. This report:

The spring campaign was over and the votes had been cast. It was June 11, 1993, election night in the Okanagan of Canada. As the sun dipped below the western horizon, hundreds of men and women gathered at the sidewalks along Talbot Street in downtown St. Thomas. Sally Nickson, then a 10-year-old schoolgirl, was the first to walk her mother to school. Progressives Conservative. As the crowd swelled, two men met at a nearby campaign office and shook hands. The Liberal incumbent in the riding of Elgin—Whose Henry Mills, was converting victory to Tony Charles Delaney Cople. Shortly after dark, the new member of Parliament climbed into a Cadillac convertible for a parade down Talbot Street accompanied by his campaign managers and dozens of jubilant supporters. Most cheered because he retained his seat in the riding of Elgin/Neer.

Now 58, and retired from her position as a customer service representative at the Royal Bank, Nickson has been active in her days on behalf of her community. The Tory incumbent in what is now the riding of Elgin/Neer

And she is not alone. Small groups of dedicated volunteers have also been working hard for the Liberal, Reform and Christian Heritage candidates over the campaign legions in Sept. 8. Only the New Democrats lagged behind, waiting until Sept. 26 to launch their campaign. The workers, all of them usually are creating new teams, friends of old campaign volunteers and leading on doors in the process, they are displaying a passion for politics that is in some ways by race among their fellow Canadians, many of whom have lost faith in their elected leaders. "I was looking forward to the election," Nickson says. "I like the excitement, the deadlines and seeing the results."

Among Liberal and Tory campaign workers, enthusiasm is not just frequently seen at the local—sometimes spanning several generations. Nickson admitted her mother's loyalty to the Conservatives, and her own daughter, a 12-year-old point clerk, is also working party for Manning. One of Nickson's coworkers, Arthur MacIntyre, who retired from the Ontario Provincial Police last December, is working as a Conservative volunteer for the first time because he is no longer bound by the force's requirement to remain politically neutral. He grew up in a Tory household in Watson, Ont., 60 km south of Sault Ste. Marie, where John Diefenbaker presided long lived as a young man. Says Mac

Intyre, "I like it. I can't get work. I can at least get over."

In the Reform camp, both the candidate, John van der Veen, and most of his workers have plenty of enthusiasm but very little practical campaign experience. On a recent afternoon, a couple of volunteers dropped by the local Reform party office to help with the 1993, a 50-year-old economist and farmer, built drives for signs he planned to erect around the riding. One of them Robert Miller, a former machanic, has been a Conservative voter all his life, but has never before worked on a campaign. His friend, Neil Vandoren, owns a housepainting business and has usually voted Liberal. Both men say that they abandoned their old allegiances because they are convinced that only leader Preston Manning can solve the country's problems. "I'm getting all my available time into this," Vandoren says. "It's not money because I have a company and people working for me. But the election is important enough that I have to do it."

The Christian Heritage Party headquarters has been well stocked with literature and signs since the early days of the campaign. However, the office is sometimes open only three to four hours a day, and is usually only by the party's local campaign manager, Herman Van Heppelen Schepers, 34, a businessman, devout Christian and mother of two children. Van Heppelen Schepers says she joined the party in 1989 because she was disappointed with the abortion policies of the mainstream parties. "I'm a very strong believer in the right to life," she says. "We want to put pressure on the government to get rid of it." Whenever there are reasons for drawing the masses into the election, campaign workers are a committed group.



## Letter from Yellowknife



Yellowknife: The official census of the city and its northern residents.

## A city gripped by fear

More than a year has passed since the tragedy, but Jan O'Neill's life is still filled with reminders of the blast that killed nine men at Yellowknife's Great Gold mine. On the morning of Sept. 15, 1992, O'Neill was one of the first people to reach the site of the explosion. The blast under ground. There, at an entrance named, the 20-year-old mine worker spotted the last remnant of a rail car—said the badly mangled bodies of nine co-workers. Among the dead was O'Neill's best friend, Chris Neill, 29, who along with O'Neill and 40 other unknown men, had come to work at the mine in defiance of a bitter four-month-old strike. O'Neill says that he immediately suspected sabotage—a theory that proved correct two days later when RCMP investigators announced that they were treating the deaths as a multiple homicide. One year later, however, police have not had any charges, the strike drags on and O'Neill continues to endure daily abuse from his former colleagues as he drives his pickup truck across an unpaved pickup line. He has also installed a home security system and bought an Alaskan police dog to protect his wife and three-year-old daughter "Lily in the house," he told Marlene's "I dream of taking my kid to the park, but I can't. There could be a murderer there waiting for us."

The line of anger with alleged murderers in their midst grips the 36,000 residents of Yellowknife. Over the past 12 months, a special 24-member RCMP homicide task force has worked exclusively on

Charges are still pending in what police call 'one of the biggest mass murders in Canadian history'

the case, interviewing more than 600 people and tracking down leads as far afield as Vancouver. Police officers now offer a \$307,000 reward for evidence leading to a conviction—the money was raised from individual and corporate donations. But Sgt. David Grady, who is in charge of the investigation, says that police still do not have enough evidence to justify charges—although they have a working theory on how the crime was committed and several suspects, each of whom still resides in Yellowknife. "This is one of the biggest mass murders in Canadian history," says Grady, who also cautions Chris Neill as a close personal friend. "We can't rush it to make a part of the population happy that it is finally over."

A final reminder—half of the murder investigation and of the 16-month-old Great Gold mine—is something that most Yellowknifers clearly desire. Located on the northern end of Great Slave Lake, 960 km north of Edmonton, Yellowknife is a city built on gold and government. The Great mine, which opened in 1948, has provided steady and well-paying employment for miners from across Canada. The average annual income among workers at the Yellowknife mine is about \$30,000. The federal government's decision in 1987 to transfer the governmental operations of the Northwest Territories from Ottawa to Yellowknife laid some jobs on Canadian workers. They discovered a place where the winters were long and cold, but the neighbors welcoming and friendly. In an era of in-

creating crime rates, violence and pollution, Yellowknife recently has been labeled place to live down roots and raise trouble.

To a shocking degree, the Giant mine tragedy and the strike that appears to have prompted it have changed all of that. The city quickly divided into two bitterly opposed camps: those who supported the striking miners and those who felt lost. The background extended from the city's schools, where the children of striking miners sometimes traded insults and punches with the children of workers who crossed the picket line.

"Kids are learning how to hate," lamented Yellowknife Mayor Pat McMahon, who blamed both the mine's owners and the federal government for not doing enough to resolve the labor dispute. "It is not civilised to go on like this. We have a working mine, but a totally disrupted community life."

Like many of her constituents, McMahon—who moved to Yellowknife from Northern Ontario in 1968—views the city's current woes to the hard-core management style of Peggy Wise, chairman of Vancouver-based Royal Dutch/Shell Inc., which purchased the Giant mine in November, 1990. The Nevada-born Wise had vowed to improve the mine's profit margins by, among other things, tying miners' wages to the price of gold. When the unions voted to strike on May 23, 1992, Wise responded brutally by locking them out and recruiting about 150 replacement workers from Southern Canada—a strike-breaking practice that is rarely used in this country. The new arrivals joined 45 mine workers who defied their union, the Canadian Association of Singley and Allied Workers (CASAW), by refusing to join the strike.

Wise reacted to the Sept. 28 explosion in a similarly uncompromising manner. Describing it as an act of terrorism, she vowed that the mine would reopen within a week or she would close it down for good.

According to McMahon, Wise has contributed to the tensions in Yellowknife by snubbing the CASAW and insisting that she will only negotiate with the 250-member Giant Mines Employees' Association, which represents the 217 men still working at the mine. "To not save the company is a good corporate citizen," says McMahon, who runs a local aviation maintenance company with her husband, Murray. "Mrs. Wise and the town got caught up in it, divorced with this strike. She had better re-examine her business values." Wise, travelling on business

in Europe and the United States, declined to respond last week to press requests for an interview.

But the anger of the striking miners is directed less at Wise than at the men who took their jobs. At the mine site, where pickets still maintain a 24-hour vigil, a sign superimposed on an offshore says it all: "Scab Get Out. All You Can Eat." In the strikers' makeshift picket office, an anguished plywood shack, Dennis Morel's poem blarney a



O'Neil: "We have people who believe killing is OK, people who believe recruiting is OK."

cup of coffee after a morning spent huffing pickets at replacement workers entering the mine. "I am frustrated," says Morel. "All you can do is yell."

Shirley Mager, wife of striking miner Jason, complains that, because of the city's remote location, the Yellowknife strike has been a low priority for federal labor Minister Bernard Valcourt, who has responsibility for labor relations in the territories. "The North gets forgotten," says Mager. "How many votes can backing this American mine in the government? We are their constituents and we vote nothing." (On Sept. 16, Valcourt released a long-awaited report on the dispute by two federal industrial inquiry commissioners. It set out several areas of possible compromise and proposed that if the two sides failed to reach agreement within 30 days, the commissioners would mediate the dispute and make binding recommendations within another 30 days.)

In fact, the protected strike has spawned its own political candidate in the current federal election campaign. Former Yellowknife CASAW president Bill Schein is running for the New Democratic Party in the Western Arctic riding, which encompasses the 900,000-square-mile western portion of the Northwest Territories. "I am running because I want to make sure this situation never happens again," Schein, a striking miner, explained while on picket duty recently. Sporting a T-shirt that reads "CASAW puts scabs on the run," Schein called on the territorial government to enact a law banning companies from hiring replacement workers during legal strikes. "This is a watershed issue for workers," he says.

Some of the strikers still claim that the mine matters died as the result of a horrific accident, rather than murder. They say that the fatal blast occurred because the mine managers had violated safety regulations by transporting explosives along with the non-strike replacement workers by RCMP. And the strikers deeply resent that many of their neighbors believe that some of the strikers are responsible for the murder of one man. "We were pissed off at them," says CASAW vice-president Rick Cassidy, 39, referring to the men who crossed the picket line. "But nobody wanted that fat on their face."

Some of the replacement workers are not so sure. O'Neil, for one, says that he recalls pickets tossing giant bombs and shooting bulletproofs from dumpsters at his truck so he drove past the daily picket line. Other so-called scabs say that their lives have been spared and that they have been reassured by union members at one of the local bars. "Yellowknife almost has the air of a Middle East situation," declares O'Neil. "We have people here who believe killing is OK, people who believe recruiting is OK, people who believe whatever it takes to achieve their cause is OK."

Those who are suffering the most, of course, are the victims' families, most of whom have now left Yellowknife. "After one year, it is still frustrating to think the men who did this are walking the streets," says Tracy Neill, the 34-year-old widow of O'Neil. "I can't get on with my life until I know that the men responsible for these murders are caught." Neill, who took a one-year leave of absence last fall from her job as an office administrator in Yellowknife, is now living in Southern Canada—although she added that the lawsuit is not as frustrated for fear of reprisal. "I am still scared when I hear the phone ring," she says. "Is someone after me? They killed nice, they might murder more." That often anguished fear will also continue to haunt Yellowknifers until the people responsible for the Giant Mine tragedy are finally brought to justice.

JOHN BOWEN in Yellowknife



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# YELTSIN'S POWER PLAY

RUSSIA'S REFORMER  
SUSPENDS PARLIAMENT  
TO DISARM HIS  
CONSERVATIVE FOES



ASSIGNMENT  
MALCOLM GRAY  
IN MOSCOW

After a sip of tea and a well-timed pause, Boris Yeltsin set down his cup with a firm hand and declared to the press that he was suspending Russia's fragile democracy in order to save it. With the nationally televised announcement that he was dissolving parliament and calling early elections for a new national assembly in December, the Russian president last week launched the biggest gamble of his scanty political career. Yeltsin, an authority to ribbons as legislator that his consistently blocking his efforts at economic reform and has at times tried to remove him from office. But even so, his seizure of power met with sympathetic understanding abroad and widespread—if muted—acceptance at home. His gambit left his opponents wallowing in a legislature with their electricity, hot water and most telephone lines cut off by presidential order. In sharp contrast, a confident Yeltsin strolled around central Moscow in a campaign-style walkabout. There, he scolded at a station in the legislature he no longer recognized that elevated Alexander Rutskoiy, has outstripped his predecessor in the grandstanding. "That's just laughable," he told a generally friendly crowd surrounding him.

Yeltsin made his theatrical appearance in a popular Moscow square that is dedicated to Russia's national poet Alexander Pushkin—but as now as well known as the site of the city's first McDonald's restaurant. Against that backdrop of Western influence and Russian tradition, Yeltsin added some more symbolism to his own role to make it clear to anyone who wondered where the military's loyalty would fall



Interior minister Viktor Yerin (left), Grachev and Yeltsin on their Moscow walkabout, during combat

he had National Defense Minister Gen. Pavel Grachev at his side. The top brass of the other so-called power elite—police and security forces—also lined up proudly with Yeltsin. But that display of solidarity could not quite dispel a Russia-wide concern about the threat of civil war

as the populace watched the spectacle of two erstwhile friends. That fear only deepened when Yeltsin's legislature took handfuls of automatic weapons to hundreds of supporters gathered at the parliament building. Wounded the influential Moscow daily newspaper *Novosti* (Gazette) (The Independent). "The slightest provocation is an irresponsible step by either side could lead to civil war."

Moscow's jittery elite was further steeled when eight attack helicopters attacked the military headquarters for the Commonwealth of Independent States, the loose alliance of republics that succeeded the Soviet Union. One policeman and an elderly woman died as interior Ministry forces repulsed the attack on a building housing sophisticated communications systems. Speculation is now Moscow newspapers that the assault had been carried out by disgruntled officers.

Soviet Union. But developments last week in the former Soviet republics—what Russians now refer to as "the near-abroad"—showed that other parts of the old empire have not found even greater pain and dislocation while struggling to emerge from communist's ruins. In Georgia, there was dramatic renewed fighting in a swirling civil war that threatened to dismember the tiny, mountainous country below 30. And a chaotic situation in Ukraine provided powerful ammunition for supporters of Yeltsin's drive for a fast transition to a market economy.

Economic reform has barely begun, so what was the breadbasket of the old union, Ukrainian industry and agriculture are overwhelmingly state-controlled and subsided, and hospitalization rates of more than 50 per cent each month have wrecked the government's attempts to establish a stable national currency. In the capital city of Kiev, as in Moscow, a conservative-dominated legislature has repeatedly blocked economic restructuring progress initiated by Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma. But while Yeltsin seemed to be gaining the upper hand in his power struggle, conservatives with a continuing both in a state-run economy have prevailed in Kiev. They have ignored Kuchma's pleas for special powers to implement reforms and rejected the former state industrialists' repeated warnings that the country was on the brink of catastrophe. Last week, that dispute came to a head as a frustrated Kuchma, charging that Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk had given him only tepid support, had his resignation accepted by parliament. Yefim Zvyagilsky, a real estate official and acknowledged conservative, took Kravchuk's place with no clear program for steering Ukraine's steep economic decline.

In Moscow, Yeltsin's opponents were striving to depict the week's events as a replay of the 1991 coup—with Yeltsin as the villain. There were indeed similarities. Once again the White House, the Russian parliament building on the banks of the Moscow River, was raged by day-long demonstrations who quickly erected barriers against a feared Khrushchev-ordered attack. But in the face of Yeltsin's Rally for Democracy, old women's answers, the crowds were at most only about one tenth the size of the 50,000-person gathering that flooded the city and ran against two years ago. And in 1991, the crowd included large numbers of young people, who had gathered at the White House to defend democracy. But in last week's drama, the protesters were predominantly middle-aged or older—regimes of the young, many of whom were who still held fast to the old rules and red flag of Soviet conservatism. Their banners of

## STIFTING SANCTIONS

Overriding issue South Africa's parliament approved the creation of an executive council to oversee the transition from white domination to democracy. Black nationalist leader Nelson Mandela called on the international community to help all economic sanctions against Pretoria, Canada, along with many other countries, immediately announced compliance.

## TRAIN CATASTROPHE

At least 47 people were killed when a Miami-based transnational transporter bus crashed off a bridge into a tributary of Alabama's Mobile River in one of the worst rail disasters in U.S. history. Investigators suspect the bridge may have been damaged when a tractor barn hit one of its piers in July just before the bus arrived.

## ISRAELI APPROVES PEACE

After a nearly five-day debate, Israeli legislators voted 61 to 50 to approve both the government's annual recognition pact with the Palestine Liberation Organization and a separate accord for Palestinian in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip. There were eight abstentions and one legislator was absent. Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin had stated his prognosis and the future of his Labor-led coalition government as winning the vote.

## A ROYAL WHIFF

Australian Prime Minister Paul Keating, branded "the lion of Oz" by the British tabloid press, formally briefed Queen Elizabeth II about his controversial campaign to establish a republic and remove her as Australia's head of state by 2001.

## A KING RETURNS

In Phoenix, Arizona, Norodom Sihanouk re-entranced the Cambodian throne he abdicated four decades ago and was sworn in as king. Sihanouk signed into law a new constitution officially proclaiming war-torn Cambodia a democratic and constitutional monarchy.

## BLAME IN BO

Blame authorities in Nicaragua that they will charge 30 people, but two men police officers, in connection with a massacre of 21 people in a Rio de Janeiro slum in August. Nino Rivas, Rio deputy governor and head of the state's elite police, called the suspects members of "an ideological group" associated with "terrorist political circles."

who are little future in a shrinking post-Soviet army only failed to narrow about 100 in the ranks. Then Yeltsin raised the stakes once again by deploying troops around the parliament and several thousand people gathered there to protest his actions.

Even before that tense confrontation, Yeltsin's daring gambit had developed Russia as its most serious political crisis since a failed 1991 putsch by Communist hardliners that hastened the collapse of the

most only about one tenth the size of the 50,000-person gathering that flooded the city and ran against two years ago. And in 1991, the crowd included large numbers of young people, who had gathered at the White House to defend democracy. But in last week's drama, the protesters were predominantly middle-aged or older—regimes of the young, many of whom were who still held fast to the old rules and red flag of Soviet conservatism. Their banners of

page and scrip holder were thirty—little more than symbolic declarations of defiance.

In another twist on the events of 1991, Vladimer Achalua, wearing green-and-brown camouflage fatigues and with a pistol strapped to his hip, was busy inside the White House. As an army general in 1990, Achalua was allegedly involved in plotting the failed hardliners' coup. Now, he was supervising the distribution of automatic rifles and other weapons to volunteers who, he said, had come forward to help defend "this white, ashy from the gray days of the Soviet Union" was under fire—literally. Georgian leader Edua Shevardnadze, the former Soviet foreign minister, and like Yelchin, a Communist-turned-democrat, ranked his personal safety to be with his engaged and outnumbered troops under siege at a contested corner of the

away from the standoff at the building, there were few signs of a city gripped by crisis. Instead of the classical music programs that were standard during the 1991 period, the two national TV networks continued to broadcast what is now normal fare in Russia: Latin American soap operas, sitcoms, news, religious programs and local, locally produced commercials interspersed with softly piped-in news programs. On the streets and in subway trains, many Muscovites seemed oblivious to the forces of potential war that roared some of their conversations. They acknowledged that, while they were following developments, they have grown weary of the constant political turmoil. "It doesn't affect me," said Yekaterina Mishchenko, a 35-year-old engineering student who was waiting for a bus near Moscow State University. "We've never gone back to the old system, but before we build a capitalist paradise here, life will probably get even tougher."

Under Yelchin's administration, mounting a comfortable living standard has become a struggle for most Russians: there are now more jobs in the states, but prices are high and wages have lagged behind monthly inflation rates that have risen above the 30-percent mark. At the same time, the two-year-old economic embargo on Moscow has weakened the central government and threatened to transform Russia into a local confederation in the country's 80 regions exercise more local power and independence.

Looking ahead, there is no guarantee that Edua Yelchin has called for Shevardnadze will produce a less combative legislature. Ironically, Yelchin cannot be sure of appointing his June 1991, victory in the presidential elections that he now proposes to hold next June, two years before the expiry of his term. But after months filled with hints and boasts that the two-year-old leader is gambling everything on the belief that most Russians still support his leadership. □

## 'A danger of slaughter'

Shevardnadze joins his troops in a besieged city

While Russian President Boris Yelchin traded off verbal shots from his political opponents last week, an ally from the gray days of the Soviet Union was under fire—literally. Georgian leader Edua Shevardnadze, the former Soviet foreign minister, and like Yelchin, a Communist-turned-democrat, ranked his personal safety to be with his engaged and outnumbered troops under siege at a contested corner of the

declared their sovereignty a year ago. In July, both sides agreed to a truce brokered by Russia. But on Sept. 16, the rebels renewed their offensive, two days after the Georgian parliament gave Shevardnadze emergency powers to deal with the Abkhazians and another threat—attacks by forces loyal to ousted Georgian president Zviad Gamsakhurdia.

The fighting in Abkhazia has strained relations between Georgia and Russia,



Civilians and a separatist soldier in Sukhumi's outskirts, isolated

former Soviet ally. Separatist forces in Abkhazia in northwestern Georgia rained artillery shells on the Black Sea port city of Sukhumi, the Georgian government's last stronghold in the region. As rebel soldiers entered the city and made attacks on three passenger planes that started the city's airport and isolated the besieged defenders, Shevardnadze appealed to Russia and the West for assistance. "The fall of Sukhumi means the breakup of Georgia," he warned in a television interview, adding that there was "a real danger of slaughter."

As Georgian reinforcements tried to reopen a road and re-link Sukhumi, time appeared to be running out as one of the many separatist wars that have been in the former republic since the breakup of the Soviet Union in 1991. Fighting in Abkhazia has killed more than 3,000 people since nationalist leaders

with Yelchin denying repeated claims by Shevardnadze that highly placed Russian conservatives were aiding the rebels. The Georgian leader accuses senior Russian officials of providing weapons and training to Abkhazian separatists. But last week, as Shevardnadze attempted to bail out the morale of his beleaguered troops in Sukhumi, his Georgian political allies issued a statement supporting Yelchin in his power struggle with Russia's leadership. It was a reminder of the principles that united the two reformers as they stood together in 1991, facing down the hardliners' coup attempt against Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev. Two years later, Shevardnadze and Yelchin were worlds apart, preoccupied by their separate and entirely different battles for survival.

ANDREW DELING with correspondents reports



Kwasniewski pushing the revolutionary Solidarity movement out of the picture

## POLAND

# Forward to the past

Former Communists sweep back to power

Just four years ago, it was the most powerful force for democratic change in Eastern Europe, driving Poland's Communists from power and setting off a chain reaction throughout the Soviet bloc. Last week, Solidarity failed to snag the minimum five per cent of the vote needed to gain seats in the Polish lower chamber of parliament, the Sejm. But the mass movement, which had the single most powerful mandate that changed the face of Poland after four decades of Communist dictatorship, didn't stop there. It had secured its own group to contest the Sept. 18 elections, the Nominating Bloc to Support Reform, three more weeks, the Sejm's upper chamber is the Polish Sejmik. Led by Janina Jankowska, led by her former Communist allies, the Sejmik alarmed few Poles, whose political apathy was reflected in the poor voter turnout, 51 per cent.

Those who did vote delivered a stinging rebuff to the reformist movement: a narrow, but decisive, victory for the Communist government. The reformists, known as the "Solidarity Bloc," had lost nearly 90 per cent of their seats in the lower house, and lost nearly 90 per cent of their seats in the upper house. As a result, the Democratic

Union, the centrist party of outgoing Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka, won just over 10 per cent of the vote, going to only 12 seats in the 460-seat Sejm. Yelchin also appeared to be the growing influence of the Russian Catholic Church, which had succeeded in getting a strict anti-abortion law passed by the last parliament and won the right to teach religious in public schools. Many young, educated Poles, especially women, rejected the church's authoritarianism. They pushed to overturn the abortion legislation and drew a sharper line between church and state. The result: the Fatherland Catholic Coalition, which had been a junior partner in Suchocka's governing coalition, failed to win seats.

Poland's recent years are widely expected to show down the previous government's tough economic reforms, which had started to put the country out of recession. But analysts do not expect a return to old-style communism. The leader of the Democratic Left Alliance, Alexander Kwasniewski, maintains that his party links a market economy, including privatization, foreign investment, reasonable budget controls and checks on officials. His conclusion is: hard-hit workers and pro-

cessors as what the 38-year-old former Communist calls a guarantee of "basic human needs." Kwasniewski said he will push for higher social benefits for the disadvantaged immediately after the election. Kwasniewski's party, which won more than 20 per cent of the vote and 171 seats, began coalition talks with another group with ties to the Communist era, the Polish Peasants Party, which came in second with about 15 per cent of the vote and 132 seats. Said Jeffrey Sachs, a Harvard University professor who helped engineer Poland's economic transition: "This [the Democratic Left Alliance] campaigned on a platform of capitalism and enterprise with Western Europe. There is consensus on Poland's basic direction."

Voters turned to the left just as Poland's economy posted the fastest growth rate in Europe. In the first half of 1993, industrial production was up by 9.4 per cent and GDP rose by nearly four per cent. And inflation, although still 10 per cent, is now a fraction of the havoc that problem it was only three years ago.

Many enterprising Poles prospered under the "shock therapy" prescribed by Western advisers to open their country's transition to a free-market economy. But many others failed—especially pensioners, single-earner families, and those in the public sector and in unskilled work. More than 13 per cent of workers, 2.8 million people, are now unemployed. Tired of hearing that the government that more sacrifices would be needed, hard-hit Poles turned nostalgia for the Communist era. "It was good for me in Communist times," said Mikolajczyk, Nowak, 46, a Warsaw journalist. "Things can't go on the way I am tired."

Right-wing parties failed poorly in the election. Only one, the nationalistic Confederation for an Independent Poland, barely made it over the five-per-cent threshold to be seated in parliament. Party X, led by Canadian-born economist Stanislaw Gersony, came in fourth, the centrist Civic Alliance, which challenged Kwasniewski for the presidency in 1990 drawing more than 25 per cent of the vote, but time did not answer voters with his claim that World Bank experts had provided him with the best economic plan for recovery. Solidarity leaders tried to get the best line on election. "The ex-Communists will give some scraps to the electorate to please it," said party official Zdzislaw Wroblewski. "Then," he predicted, "the people will see that they made the wrong choice and will turn their backs on them." That may just be now—just as it was in the early 1980s. Solidarity had 30 million members but now has only 1.8 million, and no representatives in parliament. The more realistic explanation is that Poland's headlong rush to capitalism left too many people lagging behind. And as true democratic forces, they expressed their frustration at the ballot box.

ANDREW DELING with JORDAN TURK and PAT RIZZI in Warsaw

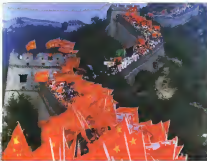
# An Olympic false start

In every sporting contest, there are winners and there are losers. But rarely has the thrill of victory so dramatically dissipated into the agony of defeat. Last week, as the International Olympic Committee president, Juan Antonio Samaranch prepared in Monte Carlo to announce which of the competing cities—Beijing, Berlin, Istanbul, Manchester, Edinburgh or Sydney, Australia—had been selected to host the 2000 Summer Games, across the world in the Chinese capital, there was a terrible ominous clanging. Before opening the sealed envelope containing the results of the secret vote, Samaranch, speaking in English, thanked all the bidding cities and read their names in alphabetical order. Hearing their city mentioned first, ear-to-ear winners cheered maniacally throughout Beijing for the live TV and radio broadcast of the decision erupted in cheers. Fountains began to gush in Tiananmen Square. At an official state gala, a traditional orchestra began to play.

But a few seconds later, as the great reality that Sydney had actually won finally sank in, the endorsement in Beijing was almost tangible. Here, there, including about 200 students who had disavowed university orders and gathered in Tiananmen Square, dispersed in quiet disappointment. In a prepared commentary read on state TV just minutes after the IOC announcement, the Communist party newspaper, *People's Daily*, congratulated *Jianzhong*. "As ever before," the broadcast added, "we cherish a friendly feeling towards the whole world. We blame no others." The gesture seemed a spontaneous strategy to stave off Chinese President Jiang Zemin's growing dislike that "in victory we will not be proud, in defeat we will not be humiliated."

The fact remained, however, that the Beijing government spent millions of dollars and staked much of its reputation on winning the

In fact, Beijing's bid was politically charged all along, with critics in the U.S. Congress and European Parliament urging the IOC to reject China on the basis of its human rights record. But Chinese officials steadfastly rejected these attacks. "No country is perfect," said He Zhensheng, head of China's Olympic committee.



match. "In the United States and other countries they have their own human rights problems. It is this reason to deny them the right of staging the [1996] Games in Atlanta?"

Chinese leaders had two choices, it seemed: reasons for wanting to host the Olympics.

First, they were eager to suppress an unprecedented wave of pro-democracy demonstrators in Tiananmen Square in June, 1989, in which as many as 1,000 people died. Secondly, the government wanted to give its own citizens a sense of purpose. Since Tiananmen, and the subsequent eclipse of conservatism in the former Soviet Bloc, the Chinese Communist party has become fiercely aware that it may be losing the hearts and minds of its people. Increased prosperity in the world's fastest-growing economy has filled the void somewhat, but Olympics-inspired patriotic fervor would have been ideal.

Now, the party risks being blamed for the loss. As the true result became known in Beijing, many Chinese, who requested anonymity, expressed deep antipathy. "We have lost a great opportunity for China to make itself known in the world," said one young woman. "We lost because other countries don't really understand us," added a middle-aged man. Yet another woman looked to the future. "There is still 2004 and 2008," she said. "The day will come, this win just the first step."

And before any new effort is launched, a major poll must be in place to take place, evaluating a possible search for scapegoats among the Chinese officials responsible for the bid. Apart from President Jiang, who appeared in

Students rallying on the Great Wall to get the Games post-mortem time

a TV address to the IOC before the vote, most of China's top leadership kept carefully out of the limelight last week, and none appeared in public to comment on the defeat. But there is some concern internationally that there may be a backlash, both on the human rights front, and in foreign relations, with an anti-spectre China further isolating itself.

Samaranch, meanwhile, applauded the decision to award the Games to Sydney—which, by next year, will already have completed an aquatics centre and a track-and-field stadium. The real winner, he suggested, was the Olympic movement itself. "There was a lot of politics involved before the vote, but I think finally the decision was really a sports decision," he declared. Perhaps, Beijing seems sure to reverberate far beyond the playing field.

SCOTT STEELE with CATHERINE SAMPSON in Beijing

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The President greeting a young patient in Washington (time to fix a 'badly broken' system)

THE UNITED STATES

## A prescription for change

The Clintons unveil their long-awaited health-care plan

**A** couple in Ohio, facing crippling medical bills for their sick baby, had to sell their home and move into a room of a hospital. The owner of a small furniture store in Florida was forced to fire his parents—founders of the family business—because his health-insurance company insisted that they were too old and too high-risk to continue to cover it. At a time at Children's Hospital in Washington was on the verge of bankruptcy because her presence was demanded at a class to learn how to fill out medical insurance forms. Last week, President Bill Clinton cited these cases as examples of why the United States desperately needs health-care reform. Promising to make medical insurance an inalienable right of all Americans, the President appeared before Congress to launch his long-awaited drive to saving the country's \$1.2 trillion health-care industry. "This health-care system is broken, it's badly broken," he declared, "and it is time to fix it."

Almost everyone agrees that U.S. health care reform is sorely needed. More than 37 million Americans have no medical insurance at all. Another 30 million are underinsured. At the same time, medical costs are growing at twice the rate of inflation. Experts say the burden is beginning to hurt foreign trade by driving up the price of American

made goods. Clinton pointed out that the country spends more than 14 per cent of its income on health care compared with 10 per cent in Canada. "Nobody else is over time," he added. But where Americans disagree is on how best to reshape their ailing system. And as the President and his wife, Hillary Rodham Clinton, who were unanimously re-elected the new plan, prepare to present detailed legislation for congressional consideration at the coming day, they are certain to face a complex political battle.

The Clinton cabinet the current system as too expensive and too bureaucratic. According to the President, \$250 billion a year is wasted on paperwork, overcharging, price-gouging, unnecessary procedures and lack of simple competition. But the Clintons rejected the Canadian health care model on the grounds that its tax burden is too high.

The White House proposal, on the other hand, broadly seeks to reorganize the U.S. health-insurance system into a series of "managed competition" networks of private providers, which must operate within government constraints. With some exceptions for small businesses, the plan would have employers pay at least 60 per cent of their employees' insurance premiums. No worker will lose health-insurance coverage if laid off or changing jobs. No one could be refused insurance because of sickness, age or a "preexisting

condition. And no insurer could discourage preventive treatment such as pediatric examinations, mental health counseling or regular checkups.

Immediate public reaction appeared to be favorable, with polls showing respondents supporting the plan by margins of better than 2 to 1. Even so, it will likely take at least eight months for Congress and the administration to reach a working compromise on the package—and another four months before a vote is held. In the meantime, the Clintons are openly appealing for Republican support. But while making clear their willingness to consider modifications to the plan, the President and the First Lady also stress major elements that they are determined to keep: universal access to health services, strict cost controls and a requirement that employers insure their workers. The third requirement will meet fierce opposition from some small-business operators who fear the added cost burden. It may also be the plan's biggest hurdle in Congress.

The First Lady, who has won a new nationwide praise on Capitol Hill for her in-depth knowledge of the system, is to be the first and most visible witness when the Senate and House committees separately released their versions of the plan. As chairman of the Health Care Reform Task Force, she held long and exhausting daily meetings in the first five months of the year with experts from around the country. It was from these meetings, many of these criticized because they were held in secret, that the Clintons drew their final proposals. In May, Hillary Clinton has held more than 40 meetings with key congressional leaders, negotiating the details in secret political sessions.

There are also troubling financial realities. The President says that budget projections show that the plan must cost \$480 billion over its first five years. Starting that point, however, Clinton estimates that the government would save \$280 billion, including \$155 billion in savings from rolling existing government medical programs for the elderly and underprivileged into the new plan, and \$140 billion in new taxes, primarily on liquor, but some economists call this figure over-optimistic. And many critics warn that the planned health reforms will end up costing a great deal more. Last week, House Republicans turned up for Clinton's speech wearing buttons that read, "Who pays?" It is just one of the many questions that Americans will undoubtedly have answered in the weeks ahead.

WILLIAM LOWMYER in Washington

## BUSINESS

# LABORING FOR A NEW APPROACH

## CANADIAN UNIONS EMBRACE STRATEGIES TO SAVE JOBS

**T**he reborn auto manufacturers and the Big Three North American car manufacturers have always been brought with teamwork. Works before contract negotiations got underway every three years, there would be various rumblings. Labor and management would aggressively stake out their turf and then, in a final effort to the end. Frequently, a stalemate would result in strikes and bitter negotiations all around. More recently, however, there has been a distinct change in the tone on both sides. In fact, the contract talks between the 50,000-member Canadian Auto Workers union (CAW) and their employers last month, were downright civil. And despite some mild lost starting early on, the union and its target, Chrysler Canada Ltd., came to an agreement with relatively little fuss. Declared CAW president Buzz Hargrove, "Business and labor now have to work together to create new jobs."

Across Canada, dozens of unions wedged by layoffs, plant closings and closures are casting a new eye to the bottom line—and their relationship to it. Pivoted by global competition and collapsing trade barriers, including those in the proposed North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), organized labor is now taking unions broad steps to save union jobs. In Brazil, Colombia, a union-owned

venture is building a \$750-million residential housing complex, in the process keeping its membership working. And while some unions are trying to consolidate their power through mergers, others are embarking on partnerships with corporate management to increase productivity, profits and competitiveness. Some recent labor contracts even stipulate that unionized workers must meet aggressive production goals set by their employer. Notes Brian Burge, president of the 500-member union local at LTV Glass of Canada Ltd., a manufacturer of automobile windshields in Collingwood, Ont.: "The plant isn't just here to give out a job. We have to make a profit and we're proud that we do."

The auto industry negotiations, which continued in Toronto last week between the CAW and General Motors of Canada Ltd., clearly reflected many of the new pressures on both sides. The number of people employed in such heavy manufacturing industries has plummeted since 1980 as plants closed and new technology was deployed. As a result, auto industry analysts say that the CAW has had to adopt an approach that goes beyond negotiating wage increases. And as uncertainty about Canada's social safety net mounts, more workers are looking to their unions—and their employer—for initiatives with broader issues such as job creation, work sharing, better pension

CAW president Buzz Hargrove and the contract negotiation team working together with company management

historical peak of 37.6 per cent in 1980—when it last remained above 30 per cent.

Organized labor is also under pressure from new international trade agreements that lower tariffs and make it easier to transfer production and jobs to the southern United States and Mexico where labor and other operating costs are lower. One attempt to step this trend is the North American Agreement on Labor Cooperation, a controversial add-on to the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), which was released in Washington last week. Under the terms of the accord, designed to quell opposition to NAFTA in the United States, labor rules from the three countries would oversee disputes involving such issues as child labor, minimum wage and occupational health and safety.

Despite their initial lobbying for the side deal, many Canadian and U.S. labor officials found the agreement unsatisfactory. Andrew Jackson, senior economist with the Ottawa-based Canadian Labor Congress for now, says the accord does not go far enough because it cannot force Mexico to adopt more progressive labor legislation. As a result, Canadian employers opening plants in Mexico would still face low regulatory hurdles. For their part, U.S. labor organizations are profoundly concerned about the potential threat to NAFTA—and have vowed to lobby aggressively for its defeat in Congress. U.S. union membership is dwindling steadily as industrial production shifts to the southern states, where wages are lower and unions are harder to form. In fact, the percentage of non-unionized workers in U.S. unions has been cut in half—15.1 per cent of the total population from a peak of 31.5 per cent in 1953.

Canadian unions desperately want to avoid the same situation. But, says Hargrove, the CAW recognized in the mid-1980s that the North American automotive industry was consolidating in the face of stiff international competition and that it would no longer be a major source of new employment and union jobs. Still, in the new three-year contract that the CAW signed with Chrysler, Hargrove and the union were able to increase employment by convincing the automaker to hire as many as 600 new workers instead of just relying on ever increasing amounts of overtime from existing employees. The union also stressed that such increases would require a corresponding increase in wages.

Michael Flynn, associate director of the automotive transportation study office at the University of Michigan, says that the CAW now acknowledges that Chrysler has to stay competitive to survive. As a result, he added, the union has become more receptive to the use of new technology. Added Flynn: "The days of hard-nosed negotiations between the CAW and the automobile manufacturers are fading into the past."

Those new guidelines and tactics mark a dramatic departure from the labor climate of 30 years ago. Then, says Flynn, a car company's union didn't share the company's fate because of Chrysler's share deal, so American copy-

## Business Notes

### MCCAIN FAMILY TRUCE

Wallace and Harrison McCain, founders of the McCain Foods international empire, have agreed to try to patch up their differences to prevent Still, while Wallace, 65, has already withdrawn, the lawsuit he filed in August against his brother, Harrison, 66, has been acknowledged that the dispute over who will succeed them at the helm of their \$3 billion company is still unresolved. The McCains, however, have agreed to submit their differences to arbitration. An agreement is expected by next April. Until then, Wallace will remain in co-chief roles for office, although a majority of the family members on the board of directors recently voted to remove him and keep Harrison as sole CEO.

### ONTARIO REFINES SHORTFALL

Provincial figures show that Ontario's revenues could be down by as much as \$1 billion for the current fiscal year because of continuing economic weakness and lower tax revenues, according to provincial Treasurer Floyd Laughe. He says that the provincial tax shortfall could be anywhere from \$600 million to \$1 billion for the fiscal year ending on March 31, 1994. In his May budget, Laughe predicted revenues of about \$44 billion in 1993-1994 with a deficit of \$9.2 billion.

### MOVING PARTS

Automotive parts manufacturer Magna International Inc. of Markham, Ont., announced that it is currently negotiating a possible European acquisition worth about \$100 million. Magna, Canada's largest auto parts company, now operates 65 plants in North America, including a recently opened manufacturing facility in Mexico. In Europe, the company already has a majority interest in an auto parts plant in Germany, plus four joint ventures in Austria and Germany.

### NAFTA WINS ON APPEAL

The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) escaped a potentially total delay when a U.S. appeals court ruled the White House does not have to assess the deal's environmental impact. The appeals court overturned a June 30 district court ruling that had ordered an environmental impact assessment of the plan in Ink Canada, the United States and Mexico in a free trade zone. Such studies can take years and NAFTA is scheduled to take effect as Jan. 1 if it is U.S. legislative approval.







# It's time to bounce Crow out on his ear

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

Less than a hundred days after being elected on Oct. 25, Canada's new prime minister will have to make a key decision.

Kim Campbell or Jean Chretien (especially without having to ask Lucien Bouchard's permission) will choose whether or not to reappoint John Crow to another term as governor of the Bank of Canada. No public servant holds greater sway over the nation's economy. The governor sets the country's monetary policy, which in turn determines the level of interest rates and value of the Canadian dollar. The power of the man or woman who fills this pivotal post is unparalleled by any politician, including the Prime Minister, to interfere with Bank of Canada policies would almost automatically result in the governor's resignation. That, in turn, would shake the confidence of world money markets in our currency, triggering a major financial crisis.

Just one year into power, the government has a window of opportunity to appoint a new governor. In any view, and in the opinion of a growing number of economists, Crow should be unceremoniously booted out of his five-year-old nest when his term expires at midnight on Jan. 30, 1994. For all his good intentions, except James Crow, who was fired by John Diefenbaker in 1961, have caused more havoc. No governor has filled the job with less effectiveness and inflicted more damage. To reappoint him would not only signal the new administration's abandonment of any hope of getting the economy moving again, but it would ensure Crow's absolute record of the past seven years.

Technically, the appointment is made by the Bank of Canada's board of directors, who have become enmeshed in Crow's ramshackle policy initiatives, but the federal cabinet can overrule its recommendation. The directors struck an official search committee (in the summer of June 1982) and Crow is difficultly their leading candidate. James Macdon-

*The Bank of Canada governor and his lunatic economics could scuttle the next government, just like he did the last one*

ald, the bank's director from British Columbia, recently commented that the board "doesn't consider this a political appointment."

That's just plain silly, because it was Crow's lunatic economic stunts, probably more than any other factor, helped scuttle the Mulroney government, and the same policies are bound to have a similarly negative effect on the next administration should he be reappointed.

While price stability is desirable, our low inflation rate has been bought at too high a price. Ever since he launched his "zero inflation" crusade in the winter of 1988, Crow has been adamant in his determination to not only reduce, but eliminate inflation. He kept such a tight grip on the economy that technicians began to close and unemployment is estimated to be currently approaching level of 1.6 million people.

While it's difficult to calculate the extent of business damage Crow's stubbornness has inflicted, the best estimate by former TD Bank economist Doug Jones, currently the Liberal candidate in the Toronto riding of Scarborough East is that Crow's success in reducing inflation from the per cent to two per cent between 1989 and 1989 lost \$20 billion in lost production out of the economy.

trighting and prolonging the recession. Peters also calculates that in 1990 alone, lower interest rates might have allowed another million Canadians to be employed, which, aside from its human benefits, would have lowered unemployment insurance costs by \$15 billion and generated an extra \$7 billion in tax revenues. In response to Peters' attacks, whose passing shames as an economic thinker should qualify him to be minister of finance in any Christian government, a confidential Bank of Canada memo noted that "reducing this [1.6 million unemployed] by one million would take us well below the national rate of unemployment." That heretofore view revealed more about Crow's tunnel vision of the real world than a hundred of his alternative speeches or policy declarations.

Another reason to demand his departure is that between 1989 and 1991, Crow kept the value of the Canadian dollar artificially high, wiping out substantial advantages we might have gained from the U.S.-Canada Free Trade Agreement. At the same time, he kept our interest rates up to five percentage points above equivalent American levels, further demoralizing our economic prospects.

Crow's unwillingness to move is based on the premise that rising prices create economic inefficiency and social inequalities. That's true enough, but by pegging his policies to the black-and-white dictums of striving for zero inflation, he harmed an economic proposition as a religious crusade. He also seems to believe that once inflation is reduced to zero, sustained economic growth will follow. There exists no documented evidence to support this theory.

One of the many peculiarities of Crow's stormy term is that he seldom purchased what he preached. He never ceased spending his billions that no single element in his battle with the dragons of inflation was more costly than lower labor costs, wage freezes and managements able to accept and offer lower wage packages. Yet, while he was beating these redds of restraint, he resolved his own war on inflation by accepting pay raises of up to 21 per cent. In dollar terms, he added up to \$133,000 to his salary—coming it to the \$148,806 (\$133,000 raise). (In order to protect the guilty, salaries in these stratospheric atmospheres are only published as ranges.) When Crow was appointed governor seven years ago, his range was \$125,000 (\$130,000).

Crow's predecessors, Gerald Boyd, who ran the Bank of Canada from 1973 to 1985, refused to accept raises when interest rates were high, and former Federal Reserve Board chairman Paul Volcker, who held the equivalent job in Washington took a salary cut to \$84,000 (\$100,000) when interest rates were low.

Revealing John Crow's salary details is pretty well compared with the damage he has inflicted on the Canadian economy. The epitaph will be the name on the memorial words of the U.S. army major who, after his troops had bombed the hell out of a South Vietnamese command, explained to a prisoner, "It became necessary to destroy the town to save it."



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# Up smugglers' alley

An embattled mayor comes out of hiding

The bullet that ripped into the Cornwall Civic Complex early on Sept. 18 carried a potent message: stop jamming cigarette smuggling or die. Fired from the St. Lawrence River, the plumed a steel door and shattered any remaining sense of invulnerability in the old Ontario coal town. The next day, and Mayor Ronald Martelle, he received a death threat—and two days after that he went into hiding.

Where he went is unknown. But last Thursday—just three days after the shooting—Martelle suddenly surfaced in Ottawa, where he met with Ontario Solicitor General David Christopherman and Justice Minister Jack Williams. "It's nice to be free," he said as he entered the meeting. He spent federal dollars on dash cams on cigarettes, which he argued would remove the incentive in the illicit tobacco and leave smugglers "dry and dry." And on his return to Cornwall the following day, he renounced defeat. "To have the safety of my family threatened is repulsive," said the former Mayor, looking tired and pale. "But it didn't do what I have to do to stop the violence in Cornwall."

From the smugglers' perspective, the 55-year-old Martelle presides over a strategically situated town. Cornwall's population of 18,000 is just across the St. Lawrence from the Newnaterre reserve, which straddles the Canada-U.S. border. Most of the 7.5-billion cigarettes exported to the United States assembly by Canadian manufacturers cross the border tax free at Buffalo, N.Y., where they are sold to distributors. Many of the shipments are then transported up the U.S. side of Lake Ontario to Newnaterre. Once on the reserve, they are loaded on to boats and smuggled back into Canada at included bags as and around Cornwall. The RCMP estimate that at least 50,000 cartons are being smuggled through Cornwall every day. The cigarettes will be 64 a pack in Canada, paid over half the legal price, and smugglers interviewed by

Martelle say that hundreds of thousands of dollars change hands daily on the Cornwall shoreline. Real smugglers exchange something else almost nightly further on the river. Once the part smarts officials say, two houses have been sprayed with automatic weapons fire and a third was firebombed. "It's



Smuggler's East on the St. Lawrence  
Martelle (left) 'stop the violence'



cartel-smuggling," said Martelle, who's married and has two children. "The cartels have more firepower than the police. This is Cornwall in 1993, not Chicago during Prohibition."

For months, Martelle has been demanding that the federal and provincial governments intervene to stop the smuggling—and he was hearing some success. Two weeks ago, Public Security Minister Doug Lewis met with Martelle in Cornwall to discuss the trafficking. And on Sept. 16, Cornwall

police intercepted a speeding van—scurried by smugglers driving two new Lincoln Continentals—and confiscated \$200,000 worth of illegal cigarettes. But the smugglers answered back the next day by firing on the police complex. "Smugglers may try me to tell the mayor to back off," said Cornwall police Chief Claude Shaver. Martelle has said that he believes the social problems now involves organized crime families in Toronto and Montreal. And while earlier he said Shaver would say who was behind the crime, Martelle was clearly nervous. He said his wife have been under 24-hour police protection since he went into hiding on Sept. 20 and last week Shaver even refused to let the mayor leave his office to be photographed. "I'm scared," admitted Martelle. "A lot of people would like me to go away. These people have no concern for life as law and order."

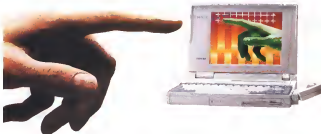
Despite his dramatic rescinding act, not everyone in the community supports the mayor. In fact, some Cornwall residents say that Martelle is overreacting and posturing for his own political benefit—he is up for re-election next fall. "He's grandstanding," said Claude McIntosh, associate editor of Cornwall's daily newspaper, *The Standard-Freeholder*. McIntosh says that Martelle also requested death threats during a city workers' strike last spring. And the mayor's suggestion that it was no longer safe to walk the streets of Cornwall, he added, would drive away tourists from the scenic, historic town. "Would you want to visit here if the mayor says it is unsafe?" he asks. But Martelle dismisses any suggestion that he is using the smug along issue to his own benefit—or that the townspeople don't support him. "I get phone calls from people crying on the phone," he says, "because they say the city is not safe."

After the meeting in Ottawa last week, Christopherman said that a joint federal, provincial and municipal police task force will be set up to crack the smugglers. Oddly, though, Martelle and Shaver said that, in the short term, they hope to stop the violence by reaching an unofficial truce with the smugglers. The police chief says the publicity generated by Martelle's sudden departure—and plethora of a crackdown—will force the smugglers to adopt a less violent approach. "I think things have already settled down a bit since I started to talk like this," said Martelle. "Addie Shaver. We're telling the smugglers to cool it. They know that they kill a politician, we'll course after them."

TOM PENNELL in Cornwall

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# Running into Canadian history

BY TRENT FRAYNE

Even now, even after all the years since Northern Dancer was racing great horses in the west, some skeptics still patronize Canadian bred race horses. An intelligent handicapper from The Washington Post, Andrew Beyer, among the best-known American experts in the case field, came to Toronto early in September and passed judgment on Canada's current Triple Crown champion, the chestnut colt Patek.

"I don't want to insult Canadians," Andrew bemoans. "But the horses who dominate the Canadian Triple Crown are good, good horses, but not as good as you think they are. When horses dominate against over-matched competition, they're more apt to run worse when they get into a tough competitive situation."

A couple of words later—just last Sept. 10, Patek had been named in just such a situation. This was the Malibu Stakes Million, a race of a mile and one-eighth at Toronto's Woodbine course where the prize was one million Canadian dollars, \$600,000 of it for the winner. \$200,000 for the runner-up and scattered to as few as thousands for the rest. Patek's opponents could hardly have been more tough and competitive. They included among others, the two best three-year-old colts of the American turf this year's Kentucky Derby and Travers Stakes races, Sea Hero, and the Belmont Stakes winner, Colonial Affair.

Well, as everyone knows, Patek ran away and led on the disastrous victory. He carried off the winner's \$600,000 pot and left Sea Hero the lengths in his wake in third place, seeking for a tally though relatively meaningless, \$110,000. Colonial Affair, Oh My He's not out of the Belmont Stakes run that day in the Triple Crown of American racing for up the track in Patek's dust, such and out of the money.

On paper, Patek is a strange-looking sure for a stallion throughout the syllable

*The syllables carry none of the lilt of those of Northern Dancer. But on the racetrack, look out! There, Patek is sweeter.*

bles carry none of the lilt of those of the grandchild of all the superior Canadian racers, Northern Dancer, or of Canada's great filly Dancer. Surely, the winner last fall among world-class females in the \$1.5 million racing extravaganza called the Thoroughbred Cup that on the racetrack, look out! There, Patek is sweeter.

Patek's girl has had trouble from the race who bred him, Barry Schwartz, a Montrealer who named the colt for his son Peter. Barry named his horse twice as a two-year-old, then sold him in a transaction that by now says will have Barry on a rampage jumping from a high window. He said Patek was not just for a consistently peddling \$150,000 but he also turned in an advanced two-year-old colt now showing signs of becoming a good one, too.

The buyer was Earl J. Mack, an American who, unlike the wily handicapper Andrew Beyer, is representative of Canadian bloodlines. After Patek was the Queen's Plate at Woodbine last July, Mack is 54-year-old real estate magnate and member of the New York Racing Association's board of trustees, defied the grey tapper that some people wear with their medieval coats on Flat Day. He replaced it with a cross-colored baseball cap

concentrated with three or four eagle heads and the word Canada.

And following his colt's sparkling win in that recent Malibu classic, he expressed his own undevoted wonder. "Everybody, do you know what you're witnessing in all this?" he repeated rhetorically at the working stiffs in Woodbine's rooftop press lounge. "This is Canadian history. You get the best three-year-olds in America to come here, the best three-year-old fillies ever assembled in my 30 years of coming to here. All the newspapers say, 'Well, who's the best?' I think the answer was played out this afternoon. He's best on the best."

Patek has emerged almost 30 years in the wake of Northern Dancer's explosive origins in the American Triple Crown events of 1964. Northern Dancer became the first Canadian-bred to win the Kentucky Derby and, two weeks later, the Preakness Stakes. Then he won horses on the third leg, the Belmont Stakes, a grueling test of a mile and a half. A strain of this fiery little colt's blood wins in Patek. It traces to Yarn, who is Patek's dam. Yarn is the daughter of Nareyev, who in turn is the son of Northern Dancer.

However, Patek has not inherited the Dancer's fiery temperament. In the week leading to the Malibu Million, as photographers and writers visited the barns of the Malibu backstretch, the celebrated young horses were skittish and high-spirited. Not Patek. Patek walked calmly, head down, plodding beside his trainer, Roger Attfield, towards the track or back to his barn. He moved the light on his face like the slow drive on road.

It is too late now, of course, for Patek to follow his great-grandfather's path in the Triple Crown races south of the border. They fell in May and June. It is probable, though, that he'll undertake the mile and one-eighth test of the Belmont Cup at some point. Apple in California. If he does, chances are he'll do better than the Dancer did in the Belmont because he has already handled that distance and won impressively.

So there is no chance of a confrontation like the one I had back in June of 1964 with Steve Jay. Filmmaking two days before the Dancer's long gallop in the Belmont. This was at a private breakfast, a surprise spread at the track attended by small, solemn, jockeys, champagne-scented newsmen and testosterone-laced trainers, including the 50-year-old Frenchman, but white-haired and per perhaps the most revered horseman in this country's racing.

The big question was whether Northern Dancer had the stamina and speed to win, and I put the question to Steve Jay. "Sir," I said, "do you think he can go a mile and a half?"

I can still see those angry blue eyes and steady stare. "They can do it a mile and a half, my boy," he said. "The question always is, how long is it going to take 'em."

It took the Dancer a little too long that afternoon, but Patek doesn't appear to have that problem.



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## PEOPLE

### The Great One's Way

In 1965, Wayne Gretzky raised the hackles of Edmontonians when he led that city's Oilers for a star spot on the Los Angeles Kings. Last week, he realized many Torontonians with his bid to enhance several blocks of downtown Peter Street as "Blue Jays Way," and to consider his new Peter Street restaurant and bar as No. 99. Critics accused Gretzky of trumpeting to the rich history of the street, it was, after all, named after Peter Brant, an 18th-century fur trader. "He was the first city administrator," noted Richard Struhsberg, general manager for the Toronto Historical Board. But for city councillor Steve Ford, the Blue Jays' bid is a matter of pride.



Janel and Wayne Gretzky at restaurant opening. "Dinner"

"We want to honor the Jays for winning the World Series," said Dinklage. "Does anyone know Peter Russell?" And what will they say about Gretzky in a hundred years?



Ryan, "victim of things"

### End of an era

When pitcher Helen Ryan joined baseball's New York Mets in 1969, he had a modest goal: to stay in the major leagues long enough to qualify for a pension. Twenty-two years and 123 starts later, the 46-year-old Ryan has saved his pension—and a place in the record books as baseball's career leader in strikeouts (3,714) and no-batters (368). During spring training, Ryan announced that he would retire after this season with the Texas Rangers. But last week, wishing to Steve Nigro's in the first inning against the Seattle Mariners, Ryan saw his magnificent career come to a premature and when a lightning bolt in his right wrist "struck like a rubber ball," on the colorful first baseman put it. Said Ryan: "Everyone has victims of things happening and different than they really do." Some guys deserve better.

### Working out Carmen

With her dancer's physique, meeting green eyes and flaming hair, Jean Stilwell seems born to play opera's favorite diva. But the role of Carmen was not always a natural fit for Toronto-born Stilwell, 34, one of the current Canadian Opera Company's productions of Bizet's classic. In 1982, when she was working for the Stratford Festival,

Stilwell weighed 185 lb and felt uncomfortable onstage. "I realized that for me to have confidence and be a major role, I would have to lose weight," she recalled recently. She began exercising (with the help of fellow Stratfordian Cynthia Dale, now of TV's *Street Legal*), became a strict vegetarian and lost 45 lb. The change has served her well. "A stage must be a good water," said Stilwell. "You just can't get up there and direct traffic any more."



Stilwell: "Carmen"



### Black, white and green

Every weeknight, he plays for laughs as host of his funny TV talk show. So the credits on the new movie *Ragtop* might come as a surprise: executive producer—Amanda Hall. "I knew it would be weird coming from me," said the 34-year-old lawyer, "because people probably expect a comedy." *Ragtop* is no comedy: at the Toronto Festival of Festivals earlier this month, its story of a South African family torn apart by apartheid moved even the most cynical onlookers. The reception does not surprise Hall. "Before we started preproduction, I realized that this movie would not entertain white people, or even a black American," he said. "I didn't want a black American who lives in Harlem to say, 'Hey, this don't apply to me—that's Africa.' What is one man's problem is every man's problem, because we have our own little apartheid here in America."

An indication of that fact, perhaps, is the difficulty he and producer Lawrence Tureaud had in getting backing for a film about black South Africans, with a predominantly black cast. The script for *Ragtop* was shopped around Hollywood for seven years before Paramount Pictures executives committed a modest \$10 million. "As complicated a problem as it may be for blacks to get into the Hollywood system," Hall said, "the black-and-white color struggle is truly half of the green struggle in the other half." Hall is now developing a television show for his pet, *Major Johnson*, and he has a new movie, starring himself, at the works. But for the moment, his film will have to get used to his new film role, behind the scenes.

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# Shame in the shadows

Humiliation dogs a newcomer from Italy

IN A CLASS HOUSE

By Mino Ricci  
(McClelland & Stewart 339 pages \$39.95)

Three years ago, when he was barely out of his 20s, Mino Ricci pulled off the pushy-pull equivalent of a grand slam in a rookie's first major league at-bat. His first novel, *Love of the Secret*, became a fixture on best-seller lists for more than a year. The book is now available in paperback (more than 20,000 copies sold) and has been widely translated. It was the *Globe and Mail's* Award for Best First Novel, along with the *Southwestern Book of the Year* and several other international prizes. You may envy Mino Ricci; but you should also feel for him. He is his own hardest act to follow.

In *A Glass House*, the second novel in a planned trilogy, follows the life of Vittorio (pronounced: vito), the book opens in

the early 1960s, and he has just arrived in Canada. His mother, Cristina, died while giving birth to the boy from Italy. The boy and his infant half-sister are sent to the hills by Vittorio's father, Manno, who left when the boy was 2. The first novel of *Shame* with the shadow of Cristina's extramarital affair and pregnancy—all seen through Vittorio's eyes. In a lovely bag of war, Cristina's spirit and dignity were set against village superstitions and her own family. Prepped with Italian phrases and bits with lessons, including an opera and Catholic themes. *Love of the Secret* seemed exotic but powerful, wonderfully true. In *A Glass House* his sense of those same



Mino Ricci's autobiographical hero

qualities feel quite different. It is set on more familiar ground—a 20-acre farm in southwestern Ontario. Manno is a brooding figure who cannot connect with his own son, let alone the baby who strikes him as a living infidel. Vittorio, meanwhile, must contend with what he sees as the ongoing shadow of being an immigrant and the dogged melancholy it inspires. They are forever building greenhouses on the homestead farm—thus the title—but precious little light enters their lives.

Vittorio in current scenes shifts on his household "in shadow, in a web of silences and emotion." His relations come to live with them, but there is no warmth in these blood lines. "Twisted allegiance," thinks Vittorio, "infects us like an illness."

The opening word in the novel is "hushhush." Ricci circles back to this theme, and then word, again and again. The accusations of the past are almost too many for Vittorio and the reader to bear. The hushhush-down clothes, the rough English, "the raw malice of our

management disorder," conversations and letters all require shame and more shame. Born in Luzzignano, Italy, to immigrant parents, Ricci, 34, seems haunted by the child-laced sequences of always feeling different. "I'm the sort of person," he has said, "that goes into a restaurant and expects the waiter either not to see me if I raise my hand or to humiliate me in some subtle way." In *A Glass House* explores an immigrant's yearning in a doctor's office, a woman. It is far more personal, even autobiographical, than his previous work.

There is less story here, and no wide-eyed little boy to tell it. His adolescent over alert to shade and measure, the older Vittorio—he is 22 by novel's end—watches mother in everything, secret games, lusts and others, maintain the rhythms of his house and his world. After university, he interviews contestants for a research project and longs to hear what he calls "the essential, the raw, the best, the color of evening light, some true form of things that could hold what wasn't spoken between us."

Ricci's great gift is to capture, sometimes in exquisite prose, the texture of people and places—the gravel ball on the school bus who would "huddle up tight against the window and stare out at it the whole trip like someone serving a hard wage for the first time." But where *Love of the Secret* is about defiance, in *A Glass House* is about defeat. Perhaps this raw lesson was intended all along, but in the end "the narrow island of shame" of the farm is overwhelming. The air then begins pulling down the shades, as if to say that as time it is to be lived differently and alone. But that little boy with an inkling is his own who sees his father at the past.

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# You talkin' to me?

He is the epitome of Hollywood stardom: Robert De Niro, perhaps the most respected actor of his generation, is famous for not revealing himself—for filling interviews with long pauses punctuated by enigmatic phrases. It was, however, a different De Niro who showed up in Toronto recently for the Festival of Festivals. He had come to talk about his directorial debut, *A Bronx Tale*. And he conducted interviews in a downtown hotel under a stringy runner carcinoma and intense journalists making their best to see him appear. De Niro was, in fact, the complete opposite: The squad of publicists on the scene spoke of the phenomenon with hushed reverence, like parents of a baby who has just uttered its first words.

The 50-year-old actor had something to tell about *A Bronx Tale*, an epic coming-of-age story that transports neighborhood nostalgia with urban realism. Adapted by New York City writer Chazz Palminter from his own hit play, it is the tale of a boy named Calogero who is torn between two role models: his father and a local gangster. The play was a one-man show, with Palminter playing his entire array of colorful characters. But for the movie, De Niro once again as Calogero's father, a hardworking bus driver named Lorenzo, while Palminter took the role of Sonny, the gangster who becomes the boy's mentor.

Visiting Toronto with the director, Palminter offered some advice on De Niro cinema: "Call him Bob, not Robert," he suggested. "Only people very close to him call him Robert. And don't call him Bobby. People who think they are close to him call him Bobby."

Seriously dressed in an Armani jacket with a tie, Robert/Bob/Bobby seemed to be trying his best to be urbane. And although he will grapple with questions like a gang-warmed school going the wrong way, he was quite relaxed that usual. Discussing his



Brooklyn style: De Niro, a key dad between his father and a gangster

mentor he had hoped to do for a long time, he told Marlowe: "I really wanted to write something of my own. But this was something, I could do something with so it was the closest thing to that. I thought it was a terrific story."

Fiction rooted in autobiography, *A Bronx Tale* begins with a true episode from Palminter's childhood. Set in his own one city in the Bronx, he saw one man about another dead, right in front of him—they seemed to be fighting over a parking space. In the movie, a similar incident triggers Calogero's relationship with Sonny, the suave but ruthless gangster who takes the boy under his wing. He lets him roll dice at crap games and share the profits.

And as Sonny becomes a second father, Calogero's real father battles with resentment. *A Bronx Tale* starts out like a cold beer and ends up as a Molotov cocktail. At first, it is much as hard moments of the early-1980s—alcohol, misogyny, baseball terms and hydroplaning cooling the summer heat. But by the late-1980s social reality sets in. Calogero gets a crush on a black student, Jane (Dina Haken) and as he gets mixed up in a neighborhood war war. *A Bronx Tale* roots from authentic experience to suspenseful mythic lies. And like both directors, De Niro uses the sound track as a subtly ironic commentary. Sonny's gangsters variously club blunts to The Thin Caped Cavalier of Love, and Italian

birds beat up blacks to Kings in What Sam

Despite De Niro's long history with Martin Scorsese, he claims that he did not consciously imitate his directing techniques. "Many has his own style," De Niro says, "and when I work with him I never even discuss myself about style. He wants me to do something and I do it." But does he add: "This material is so similar to *Mean Streets*, where there was this thing with Harvey Keitel and a black girl. Chazz has written something he like a very well, what he came from, the way Marty did. And I wanted to tell it in a way that I felt would authenticate it without losing it."

De Niro was an audience about authenticity. The entire film was shot in locations in the Bronx. "I wanted to make it something special into itself," he says, "like a medieval village."

And with the exception of himself and Palminter, he cast the movie with unknowns who had little or no acting experience. "I got crazy about the casting," says De Niro. "A year before we started shooting, I said I wanted to find real people. I did not want to be using an actor, or some professional young kid who has done too many commercials. I wanted people who were genuine, as genuine as I could get."

His cast includes the two remarkable leads: Francis Capra, who plays Calogero in a one-year-old, and Edie Bracco, who plays him as a teenager. Bracco seemed destined for the part. Discovered on a beach, he is a De Niro look-alike who has followed the actor since childhood—and whose Sicilian father and grandfather are both named Calogero.

*A Bronx Tale* is dedicated to De Niro's own father, painter Robert De Niro Sr. (who died May 1987). And the movie is a credit to an old in America. Calogero has to choose between a godfather and a real father, and Lorenzo tries to define the mystique of parenthood by insisting that "the working man is the tough guy." De Niro, of course, measured the mythic resonance in his movie roles. "It's an American tradition," he claims, "almost a folklore thing." The movie knows a number of gangsters who went him to tell their stories. "But you know them at a distance," he adds. "You know that they're thin and you're that and that's the way it's going to be." His voice trails off. Whether dealing with the media or the Mafia, De Niro knows where he is talking—and not about to give anything away.

BRIAN D. JOHNSON

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# Paying homage to the king of the hill

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

So we are in this cavernous hall down on Toronto's lakeshore. Almost everyone who is anyone in the city is here to honor the star guest who is to be roasted and pruned by an audacious list of speakers. Heavy CBC benches are here. The editors of the big magazines. The editor of *The Globe and Mail*. The *Toronto Star*.

Writers and authors and political big names. Men who have money and women who have influence. And who is this master who can attract on a Sunday night all this, such a gaggle of important people?

A statesman? A prominent politician? An esteemed author? An award-winning journalist? A renowned humanitarian?

Nope. The man being paid homage to is a real figure of our times, the height of all splendour—a politician? Then, looking at all the glory poured on him by people who one might think his superiors in the great scheme of life, is Allan George, the very bright and very colorful Edmonton product who has become a muckraker by being—through the *Toronto Star*—the pecking brain behind the Conservative government.

An amused observer found that most telling. The most powerful editors, TV execs, forces and magazine and radio executives were acknowledged—without realizing it—who is now king of the hill. Politicians and election campaigns, are now run by manipulation, and the guys with the muckraker—what really know what the voters are thinking—are not the journalists and the academicians and the columnists. They are the pollsters. All hail Allan George!

How powerful and influential is Allan George? He is now well-known in 70 polities as looking like an unrepentant rock 'n' roller, with his ear jewelry and his crazed hair. He affects a costume of black and so all these extremely powerful Toronto people were asked to dress in something black—an joking homage of course. Almost all of them obeyed.

This is very interesting, as all life is this reason, for the evening was the ending of his



five-year reign as inspirational chairman of Toronto's highly successful annual film festival. Under bewitching Helen Steinbrecht the grandiose event titled Festival of Festivals is now, after 18 years, the pre-eminent movie bazaar in North America, making just below the book fairs in Cannes, Berlin and Venice.

George, one of the most interesting people on Canada's scene, knew nothing about movies but took on the role because he is a muckraker. At 41, he is co-managing the rock band The Tragically Hip. His muckraking in public would elicit a laugh-out-loud. He has a beautiful wife and three nice kids who have apparently survived him.

The most interesting flick in the 10-day festival was called *The Rosebush*, *Heider's Life of Lew Rosenfeld*, a three-hour documentary made by a young German film maker who was in Toronto—going to God someone who would book a three-hour movie on someone

the young German had never heard of Lew Rosenfeld, a famous in film-making (and in politics) as the brilliant woman who made two documentaries in the 1930s that ended her movie career. The first, on the rise of Adolf Hitler, was *Triumph of the Will*, a masterpiece of propaganda that, even today, is still remembered in the genre of its camerawork and imagery.

The second, her filming of Berlin's 1936 Olympic Games, was so innovative that only now are such as NHK, television games catching up to her techniques. Lew Rosenfeld died at 50, married—along with her lover 40 years younger—in a fishing town, fish spears 100 feet underwater off Florida. She is the oldest scuba diver in the world, getting her license at 70 by lying that she was 54.

She has because of the Hitler association, been boycotted by what is regarded as our most opinion from being offered any meaningful contract to display her films.

The young German documentary maker, as long as interviews allow, the 30-year-old to explain her relationship with Hitler, with Goebbels, with Rudolf Hess.

She explains, in sad tradition, that she was "simply an artist." As the best filmmaker in Germany, she was hired to make Germany and Hitler and the Olympics look the best possible. In the first hour of the movie, she is allowed to say, somewhat in utter confusion, "What did I do wrong?"

By artists, do political leaders, do politicians, have any moral responsibility for what they do? Is it all just a job? Does anyone really believe that, when Ron Campbell was hit by a car over head for the camera shots that will be on the front pages the next morning that she is doing it out of affection for buses?

Does anyone really think that Jess Chertwin has actually read—let alone can comprehend—the bulky Liberal platform book that Paul Martin and his hordes have spent two years preparing so as to give the appearance that Chertwin stands for substance?

Of course not. Both Campbell and Chertwin have no much control over what they are ordered, progressively, told to do in each day's activities as the make of goose-stepping Nazis indeed by Lew's conversation to watch against the nauseating-grating images that appear national on television today.

Lew Rosenfeld was a genius at propaganda—acknowledged by a world community that then branded her—her "anti-Nazi heart," in her terms. Do we have any different in 1997? She just invented a technique that is now perfected.

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Main  
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Scenic  
Roads  
Rocky  
Roads  
Gravel  
Roads  
Bumpy  
Roads  
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Roads

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OF ANY ROAD  
THAT TERRIFIES  
US IS  
THE MIDDLE.



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